THE Nation

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

VOLUME 163 NEW YORK • SATURDAY • SEPTEMBER 21, 1946 NUMBER 12

The Shape of Things

THE REPUBLICAN STRATEGY FOR 1948 WAS unveiled by Senator Taft in his Ohio keynote speech. Abandoning the isolationism which weakened the party in the last four Presidential elections, Senator Taft denounced "appeasement" of Russia and urged that the United States take a strong hand in advancing its interests throughout the world. The 1946 and 1948 campaigns apparently are to be fought on the Russian issue, with the Republicans pressing the offensive into the domestic field by implying that all New Deal reforms, together with price-control and full-employment legislation, are the result of Communist influence within the Democratic Party. While there is nothing new about the domestic part of the program, Republican advocacy of a "strong" foreign policy may seem inconsistent with the party's pre-Pearl Harbor position. The inconsistency, however, is largely superficial. The step from isolationism to imperialism is a natural one in the light of atomic explosives and guided projectiles, and the Republican policy of 1946 is directly in line with that of 1920 and 1940 in its refusal to accept the obligations of world citizenship and work for a system of world security.

✶

THE U. N. FACES SHIPWRECK ON LAKE SUCCESS unless it repents the errors of its recent ways and gets back on the course originally plotted for it by its chartmakers. For the United Nations was not intended to be a debating society for power politicians or a sounding board for ideological conflict. It was intended as an organization of peace-loving peoples concerned in preserving and promoting peace. The tragi-comic bickerings surrounding the Greek issue have no relationship to these ends. Mr. Manuilski's two suitcases of "facts" had the familiar stale smell of propaganda. Liberal Americans deplore the fate of the Greek people who, unlike some of their neighbors, showed democratic courage in fighting the Axis from the very beginning but in the end had no chance to vote for democracy. They think it highly improper that British bayonets and American naval vessels should constitute an election argument. But they find it difficult to believe that Mr. Manuilski's memories do not extend as far back as the elections in Bulgaria, Hungary, Rumania, and Poland. They think there are far too many troops beyond Britain's borders in Greece and in Palestine. But they cannot bring themselves to believe that the Red Army battalions beyond the bounds of Russia are there simply to assist local police in arresting black marketeers or directing traffic. But why raise these issues when the real one stares us in the face: that Greece is on the cross-lines of conflict between East and West—a key to the Adriatic, the Aegean, the Dardanelles. The basic problem in the present war of nerves is not how to wage it but how to end it. It is said that the success of the wartime conferences of the Big Three was due to a technique of discussing first those issues where agreement was broad and placing far down on the agenda the issues where controversy was sharp. It is not too late to apply this technique in the U. N. Were Russia and the Western powers to call a truce in the zonal frontier struggle, there would be a chance for all the nations to give their attention to those matters of peaceful reconstruction in which there is wider agreement and on which the security and freedom of all depend.

✶

IN THE PUBLIC MIND CHESTER BOWLES IS synonymous with price regulation. Regardless of what other issues develop as his campaign for the governorship of Connecticut progresses, he will go before the voters as the man who ran the OPA. Inevitably the country will interpret the result as a plebiscite on government controls. The stakes are high, with the course of Administration policy for the next two years perhaps hanging in the balance—not to mention the possibly interesting political future of Chester Bowles. And the fight will be uphill all the way. Senator Brien McMahon, the state's Democratic boss, was late and grudging in giving Bowles his indorsement, and there is some question as to how enthusiastically he will deploy his forces in support of the former stabilization director. Why McMahon yielded at all is a matter of lively speculation among Connecticut political observers. Some point to the private Roper poll, said to have convinced McMahon of widespread Bowles sentiment; while the more cynical think that the party leaders, seeing Bowles's determination—and believing the political climate this year to favor the Republicans anyway—preferred to give him their nominal blessing rather than disrupt the party in a bitter convention fight. Connecticut Democrats are well aware that it will be no easy matter to defeat a Republican ticket headed by Governor Baldwin. It was Baldwin, now

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

• IN THIS ISSUE •

EDITORIALS

The Shape of Things 309
The Wallace Speech 311
Spain Off-Stage 312

ARTICLES

Labor at the White House *by Tris Coffin* 313
Clash of Two Systems *by Vera Micheles Dean* 315
The Horn of Plenty *by James Hearst* 318
Fascism, Philippine Style *by R. F. Millon* 320
The Shakeout *by Arnold Beichman* 322

BOOKS AND THE ARTS

Slow Movement *A poem by Louis MacNeice* 324
Newman as Man and Critic *by B. H. Haggin* 324
Mahler *by Morton Dauwen Zabel* 326
A Misguiding History *by Charles B. Farrell* 328
The Words and the Measure *by Wylie Sypher* 330
Music by Formula *by George Henry* 332
Records *by B. H. Haggin* 334

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS 335

CROSSWORD PUZZLE No. 179 *by Jack Barrett* 335

Editor and Publisher: Freda Kirchwey

Managing Editor J. King Gordon — *Washington Editor* I. F. Stone — *Literary Editor* Randall Jarrell*

European Editor: J. Alvarez del Vayo

Associate Editors

Robert Bendiner, Keith Hutchison, Maxwell S. Stewart

Drama: Joseph Wood Krutch — *Music:* B. H. Haggin

Staff Contributors

Reinhold Niebuhr, Carey McWilliams, Aylmer Vallance

Assistant Managing Editor: Robert Harvey

Copy Editor: Gladys Whiteside. *Assistant Literary Editor:* Caroline Whiting. *Research Editor:* Doris W. Tanz.

Business Manager: Hugo Van Arx

Advertising Manager: William B. Brown

Director of Nation Associates: Lillie Shultz

* Margaret Marshall on leave of absence.

The Nation, published weekly and copyrighted, 1946, in the U. S. A. by The Nation Associates, Inc., 20 Vesey St., New York 7, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter, December 13, 1879, at the Post Office of New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Washington Editorial Bureau: 318 Kellogg Building. Advertising and Circulation Representative for Continental Europe: Publicitas, Lausanne, Switzerland.

Subscription Prices: Domestic—One year $6; Two years $10; Three years $14. Additional postage per year: Foreign and Canadian $1.

Change of Address: Three weeks' notice is required for change of address, which cannot be made without the old address as well as the new one.

Information to Libraries: The Nation is indexed in Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Index to Labor Articles, Public Affairs Information Service, Dramatic Index.

running for the Senate, who stood out above the Roosevelt landslide in 1944, when most of his running-mates were buried—and this year there is no Roosevelt. But Bowles is a big enough figure to require neither the coat tails of Roosevelt nor the indulgence of McMahon. We hope Connecticut voters will feel, with us, that his courage and capacity for applied idealism are badly needed in a world of diminishing political leadership.

*

SAGGING STOCK-MARKET PRICES SEEM TO have hit at least a temporary bottom, but the unprecedented wagging of tongues over causes and effects continues both here and abroad. Never before has the rest of the world watched our business barometers as it does today, and with good reason: never before has the business weather of other nations been so dependent on that of the United States. Especially in Britain, whose economy is most closely tied with ours, fear of a depression here is almost pathological. For this reason some of the most anxious ticker-watchers during the days of the break were in our own State Department. They well know the staggering effect a serious economic setback here would have on the multilateral trade program they hope to sell to the world in the coming international meetings. As usual there is an explanation to fit almost every point of view: the next to the longest bull market in history was bound to break if only of its own weight; high prices were beginning to slow up buying, while labor costs have risen so far that profits can be had only at peak production; the rapid degeneration of American-Russian relations; bear raids on the market by big operators who wanted to unload their holdings to pick them up later at lower prices. You can take your choice. But whatever the causes, the stock-market prophets, as usual, failed to detect them in advance. An analysis of the predictions of eight leading Wall Street services shows that not one warned its clients that a serious break was at hand.

*

DURING THE FOUR YEARS OF WAR, THE writers of the U. S. S. R. had no interest that was not the state's. The intensity of their devotion was plain both to Russia and to the outside world; certainly Generalissimo Stalin, whose favorite writer is Chekov, must have appreciated the sacrifice they made when they neglected for the temporary demands of propaganda and patriotism, the final demands of truth, of sympathetic understanding, and of justice. But even peace has not put the Soviet Union in a position where it can afford the luxury of allowing its artists to satisfy these demands: the new Five Year Plan has been more onerous for Soviet writers than the war itself. In the Soviet Union today the only permissible book—or play, or movie, or poem—is one that directly serves the state. The long series of measures against any work of art that is not a party weapon of the bluntest sort has culminated in

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the banning of most foreign plays, in attacks upon some of the better-known Russian literary magazines, in the expulsion from the Union of Soviet Writers of two hitherto respected authors, and in the dismissal of its president, Nikolai Tikhonov, a writer of enough cultivation and intelligence to remind one of the days when, for half a century, the greatest literature of modern Europe somehow managed to survive the censorship of a reactionary but mercifully inefficient dictatorship. The official denunciation of the "apolitical and idealless" poetry of Boris Pasternak is a symbolic gesture of the utmost significance. Pasternak is universally regarded as the greatest living Russian poet: Ehrenbourg, during his recent visit to the United States, talked at length about Pasternak, and plainly felt for him a respect and devotion that he otherwise, rather surprisingly, extended only to those "giants" Hemingway, Faulkner, Caldwell, and Steinbeck; one remembers that Ehrenbourg spoke of the enthusiastic acceptance of Pasternak's work by the most select Soviet audience as proving that art is free in Russia.

✶

WHEN TWO OF THEIR NUMBER WERE recently transferred to the punishment center at Minersville, without trial or hearing, fifty-six conscientious objectors at the Glendora, California, civilian public-service camp stopped work in protest. In addition to objecting to the seemingly arbitrary assignment of the two C. O.'s to a punishment center, the strikers have raised certain basic issues. They contend that the release of conscientious objectors from public-service centers has been vindictively delayed, that their wives and children have been denied dependency allotments, and that they have been forced to work at important and often perilous wartime jobs without compensation. That eight of the men recently arrested have been working as "packers" in the polio ward of the Los Angeles General Hospital throughout the present polio epidemic certainly confirms the sincerity of their position and should entitle them to a careful review of their cases, preferably a public hearing. Moreover, there should be no further delay in releasing conscientious objectors from public-service centers in a ratio consistent with the release of drafted personnel from the armed forces.

✶

ALTHOUGH THE WORLD FOOD CRISIS MAY be somewhat alleviated in the next twelve months as compared with last year, the latest crop reports indicate that serious shortages will continue until at least this time in 1947. The 1946 European wheat crop is estimated at 830,000,000 bushels as against 647,000,000 in 1945 and a pre-war average of 1,115,000,000. Russia's crops, while better than in the past few years, are below pre-war figures. Britain's bumper grain crop has been seriously damaged by prolonged rains during the harvest season. China's rice yield is expected to be better than last year's but not comparable to that of normal years. While the United States has had an excellent harvest, as James Hearst points out on another page, and Canada has also produced a surplus, both together fall far short of world needs. The U. N. Food and Agriculture Organization, now meeting in Copenhagen, estimates that the world requires 28,000,000 tons of food grains, while production will not exceed 20,000,000. In an effort to encourage greater production and to stabilize prices the FAO is considering a plan for a world food board introduced by Sir John Boyd Orr, FAO's director general. Unfortunately, the American delegation succeeded in sidetracking this admirable proposal on the plea that the subject needed more "study." Instead of immediate action it was decided to invite Russia and Argentina, neither of which is a member of the FAO, to participate in a fifteen-nation commission to survey plans for a food board and stabilization program. While there is logic behind the attempt to involve both nations in the planning stage, the American proposal might easily result in delay which would endanger the whole project—even if it could be conveniently attributed to Soviet "obstruction."

✶

ON SEPTEMBER 12 IN THE FRENCH EMBASSY at Washington Ambassador Henri Bonnet presented to Freda Kirchwey, editor of *The Nation,* the order of Chevalier of the Legion of Honor. Others who received decorations on the same occasion were (Grand Officier) Henry Morgenthau, Jr., former Secretary of the Treasury; (Commandeur) Archibald MacLeish, former Assistant Secretary of State; (Officier) Oscar Cox, former administrator of the Foreign Economic Administration; (Chevalier) Elliott H. Lee, executive vice-president of American Relief for France; Waverly Root, newspaperman; Raymond Swing, radio correspondent; and Reginald Townsend, president of the French Institute in the United States.

The Wallace Speech

WHAT Henry Wallace said in Madison Square Garden last week was completely blanketed by the fantastic consequences of his words. Mr. Truman's unqualified approval of the speech, followed in rapid succession by protests from Senators Vandenberg and Connally in Paris, by Secretary Byrnes's eloquent silence, by a storm of attack and speculation in the press of the world, and finally by Mr. Truman's ignominious retreat, have seized the spotlight. The specific criticism of American foreign policy made by Mr. Wallace will have to wait for the consideration it deserves until the effects of the President's action have subsided. For this latest demonstration of Mr. Truman's talent for inept and hasty comment has startled the whole world. Nor was he able to mend matters by publicly eating his ill-considered

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

words; in fact, this performance, however necessary to set matters straight, only heightened the general impression of fumbling irresponsibility.

Like the stock-market break, Mr. Truman's break has been variously explained: he never read the Wallace speech through; he read it but did not understand its implications; he did not read it carefully before the Garden meeting, but afterward, when called to account by the reporters, he thought they were trying to goad him into a disagreement with Mr. Wallace and so insisted he had read it all before okaying it; and so on. Just one thing these explanations have in common: they reflect equally upon the capacity and good sense of the President. This latest episode, so typical, so dismaying, only strengthens our conviction that President Roosevelt's choice of Mr. Truman as his running-mate in 1944 was one of the worst political blunders of his career.

But it would be unfair to exonerate Mr. Wallace of all blame. Perhaps he believed he was going to the extreme of correctness in getting the President's approval for his Garden speech. But since the speech was in large part an attack on the Administration's foreign policy, he should have known that Mr. Truman's indorsement turned it into a bombshell. It did not turn it into policy. In the end Secretary Byrnes's position had to be sustained, as it has been, however clumsily, by Mr. Truman's repudiation of his own words. So all that has been accomplished is to present to the world a spectacle of Cabinet disunity and Presidential inadequacy. It would have been far better, in our opinion, if Mr. Wallace had spoken in his own person and explained that he was doing just that, with or without the express permission of Mr. Truman. Even this degree of open difference within the Cabinet would have astonished persons accustomed to the rigid discipline of the Soviet system or to the system of ministerial responsibility in a parliamentary state. But at least there would have been no risk of serious misunderstanding among other nations and no need of a Presidential crawl. And the many excellent things Mr. Wallace had to say would have been considered on their merits and not merely as items in an international *cause célèbre*.

The speech was, in fact, a most interesting and controversial analysis of the world situation. Not only did Mr. Wallace propose an independent American policy designed to relieve Russia's worries, while demanding of Moscow a similar effort at conciliation; more specifically he elaborated a program based on the frank acceptance of existing spheres of influence, together with areas where neutrality must be maintained. This is a bold departure from the principles laid down in the Atlantic Charter and still accorded lip-service in Paris and at Lake Success. Since spheres of influence inescapably imply the continuance of balance-of-power politics in international affairs, Mr. Wallace's position can hardly be dismissed, in the words of the New York *Herald Tribune*, as "starry-eyed." It is, on the contrary, a brutally realistic position, demanding a new orientation on the part of most liberal thinkers. *Nation* readers will find in it interesting parallels with the ideas expressed in last week's issue by Dr. Niebuhr. This point in particular requires serious thought. A division of the world into "zones" dominated by great powers has so many obvious dangers that it must be accepted, if at all, reluctantly and as a bad second best.

Wallace's broad approach to the question of America's foreign relations will, however, have the support of all who believe that peace must be constructed on the foundation of a positive democratic policy rather than on mere resistance to Russian pressures. The anxiety, reflected in dispatches from Paris, lest the Wallace attitude imply a withdrawal of American interest from Europe, is not justified by a careful reading of the speech. On the contrary, Mr. Wallace proposes increased participation by America in building a stable and democratic world. In fact, he openly advocates competition between American economic methods and the socialist concepts of Russia while urging each power to refrain from political intervention in countries within the other's established area of interest. As an example of what he would have the United States avoid, he cites our close support of Britain's position, particularly in the Middle East. Without doubt, this policy has involved the United States in reactionary commitments which have weakened our prestige in the countries concerned and have aroused unnecessary suspicions in Moscow. Mr. Wallace's insistence that we develop and follow a policy of our own is not equivalent to a proposal that we pull out. Where some of us would differ with him is in his assumption that an independent American policy will automatically be a democratic one. The situation in China and in the Philippines does not justify this view. Our policy will be democratic when men like Wallace are able to influence the making of policy; freeing ourselves from British apron strings is not enough.

Spain Off-Stage

EVEN though the Spanish issue has not yet been scheduled for formal discussion by either the Security Council or the General Assembly, it has risen again to plague the members of the United Nations. Speaking on the new Opium Convention, now being prepared by a special committee of the Economic and Social Council, the Soviet delegate, Nikolai Feonov, last week asked whether the proposed invitation to signatories of the 1925 and 1931 conventions to join the committee would be extended to the government of General Franco. Upon receiving an affirmative answer, Mr. Feonov declared that the Russian government would reserve the right to reopen this question when the convention comes before the Economic Council for debate.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Russian delegate's statement should put an end to rumors circulated this summer about a change in the U. S. S. R.'s attitude toward Spain: obviously the Soviet Union continues to be unequivocally opposed to any contact, direct or indirect, between the United Nations and the present Spanish regime. At the same time it shows how futile are the hopes of those who expect the Spanish issue to "die by itself." The Security Council had scarcely finished its heated debate last June, when the World Federation of Trade Unions issued a call for a general boycott of Spain which touched off a new explosion of anti-Franco sentiment throughout Europe and Latin America. Hardly had the month of meetings and demonstrations initiated by the W. F. T. U. come to a close, when representatives of all the European Socialist parties, in answer to an invitation of the French Socialists, met in Paris on August 27 and 28 to discuss the Spanish issue. The conference was attended by a group of specially invited Spanish Socialists. The delegates adopted a resolution stating that "the survival of the Franco regime constitutes a defeat for international democracy and a danger to the peace." They called on the Socialist parties to intensify international action aimed at the early overthrow of the Spanish dictatorship and set up a permanent committee whose task it will be to bring pressure on the United Nations to adopt an attitude on Spain consonant with the principles enunciated at San Francisco and Potsdam.

For a brief time officials in London and Washington clung to the possibility of replacing the Madrid regime "quickly and painlessly" by another government, monarchist or semi-fascist. Unfortunately for the promoters of this scheme, the chief protagonist reneged. So far Franco has refused to step out. Gambling, as he has done since the war's end, on the differences between the Western powers and Russia, the Spanish dictator sees no reason to throw in his hand just when the cards are coming his way. Encouraged by recent developments, he returned from his Galician tour saying that he had thought matters over and decided to stay put.

Now the British Foreign Office finds itself back where it started last spring. A monarchist restoration is impossible: Lopez Oliván, the former ambassador to London who favored a monarchy along British lines, has lost his fight against the medieval, clerical, anti-labor clique surrounding the Pretender in Lisbon. Some of the generals on whom the British were counting to carry off a coup last July have beat a hasty retreat now that Franco has made it clear he will not budge. There remains only the Republic, but recent events in Greece and elsewhere suggest that, in the Mediterranean at least, Mr. Bevin prefers democracy in very small doses. So the only alternative for Britain is to return to its former position of backing Franco.

This presents the United States with a difficult decision. If the Administration continues to follow the British lead, it will be obliged to support the tottering Franco regime not only diplomatically but financially. Since a direct loan would be politically impossible, there has been talk lately of a loan negotiated through private banks to rescue Franco from his multiplying economic difficulties. But no rescue operation will prevent another Spanish conflict in the U. N. when the Assembly finally meets in October.

Labor at the White House

BY TRIS COFFIN

Washington, September 12

JOHN STEELMAN, the professionally optimistic director of Mobilization and Reconversion, let out a feeble toot as the White House answer to the economic crisis that has been building up for ten days.

The maritime strike had piled up the pressure to amend the government's outdated stabilization policy. In Cabinet meetings and in White House conferences Secretary of Labor Schwellenbach gloomily warned that inequities between earnings and prices must be settled decisively or the maritime strike might spread to other industries. He pointed to some hitherto unpublished statistics: Real wages in July reached a post-war low—10 per cent below July of last year. The price index rose 7.8 points from June to August 15, 1946.

Last night crowds pouring out of Washington theaters were greeted by newsboys shouting, "Wage Board turns down sailors' pay raise." This morning the atmosphere in the Labor Department was hushed, almost frightened. Ed Warren, the director of conciliation, and some of his assistants stood in the hall outside the Secretary's office talking quietly. Where was this thing going? How could it be stopped? All day long reporters sat impatiently in the White House press room. They stormed into the office of Charlie Ross, press secretary. When was the break coming in the maritime strike? Ross patiently assured them sometime today.

Over in the east wing of the White House government executives hurried in and out—members of the

TRIS COFFIN is a commentator for the Columbia Broadcasting System. He writes a weekly Washington report for The Nation.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Wage Stabilization Board and the Maritime Commission, Labor Department officials. Dr. Steelman was holding emergency councils.

By four o'clock, the time for President Truman's regular news conference, the long White House lobby was crowded. The correspondents jammed and pushed into the Presidential office, filling every inch of space. The President galloped off merrily and in one breath announced the appointment of Frances Perkins to the Civil Service Commission and the opening of West Executive Avenue to traffic soon. He rambled on about a White House carpenter shop and a proclamation for Physically Handicapped Week.

The crowded room was getting warm and the reporters impatient. Several voices broke out, and the loudest asked, "What will the President do to stop a wave of strikes?" Mr. Truman said firmly he had already taken action in the Executive Order of last February. Then he nodded to the next person with a question. The talk drifted over to politics and Henry Wallace's New York speech.

A reporter almost pleaded, "Will there be a break from the White House today on the maritime strike?" The President said Steelman would have a statement. "Will the Steelman announcement be the basis for a settlement?" Mr. Truman said it would. Would the statement modify the stabilization policy? It would not. "Can we talk to Steelman?" a reporter asked. The President replied cheerfully that sure we could, but Steelman was busy now. Someone in the back of the room drawled, "Is he sitting on the statement?" Mr. Truman thought this was funny and he laughed. That ended the conference.

The great document that was going to end the maritime strike created confusion in the press room. Irritated correspondents demanded to see Steelman. What the hell did all this mean? The word came back that Dr. Steelman was not seeing the gentlemen: the statement spoke for itself.

Conflicting judgments about it are still expressed, but it appears to be a simple device buried in purposely obscure legal phrases. Dr. Steelman just removed the maritime industry from the board's jurisdiction and added a little teaser for the ship operators to figure out. If owners of privately operated ships will pay increases, the government may authorize similar raises for government-owned ships. Very few officials in Washington have any real hope that this obtuse statement will settle the maritime strike or satisfy labor generally.

The strike started out as a lusty thumb-to-nose gesture at the Wage Stabilization Board by Harry Lundeberg, the husky president of the A. F. of L. West Coast Sailors' Union, but it has developed into a general defiance of the futile stabilization program. It was originally called because the WSB refused to allow a pay increase giving $22.50 a month to able-bodied seamen of the A. F. of L. The board gave $17.50 to Joe Curran's C. I. O. sailors, and that was as far as it was going. Lundeberg complained that the board had stalled for weeks on his petition, though they approved Curran's in a matter of hours. He said the agreement was arrived at by collective bargaining, and it was none of the government's business. Besides, the Maritime Commission had no objection; so why were these board members blocking it?

The Wage Board was torn between two decisions. It could grant the $5 increase, labeling it correction of inequity. Not much money was involved. The total labor cost of operating a Liberty ship, $10,700 a month, would be increased $30. This decision would end the A. F. of L. strike, but it would open a very breezy back door to other demands. Or the board could turn down the raise—as it did—and point lamely to restrictions placed on it. Under the White House Executive Order dated March 11 and never amended, the WSB is not authorized to recognize any increase in the cost of living other than that occurring in the period January, 1941, to September, 1945. It is further restricted by the order to eliminating "gross inequities" within industries or plants or job classifications and to correcting substandard wages.

Secretary Schwellenbach looked more mournful than usual at his news conference last week. He is a big man with shaggy gray eyebrows and long lips that droop downward. President Truman said it was up to the Labor Department to settle the strike, but Schwellenbach had nothing to arbitrate. The strike was against the WSB, and he could not touch the board. In the White House consultations Schwellenbach advocated a "unified approach": that is, the government should make up its mind on a wage policy for the entire industry and settle shipping once and for a long while. Curran was flexing his muscles and talking about a strike; a contract for Harry Bridges's longshoremen was coming up on September 30. In these sessions the idea of removing the shipping industry from Wage Board controls was tossed around.

On the long-term policy for all labor the White House seemed indifferent. Steelman took the attitude: "It will all blow over in two or three months of good production."

The maritime strike came at the precise moment when it would cause the most trouble. Both Philip Murray of the C. I. O. and William Green of the A. F. of L. have their hands full keeping the unions quiet. The cost-of-living increase has given ammunition to all who want to kick over the stabilization traces. Harry Lundeberg is a lusty, irrepressible character, and he was egged on by A. F. of L. leaders looking for a chance to throw the Truman Administration into more turmoil. John Lewis rumbled that he was backing Lundberg to the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

limit. On the left Harry Bridges and Joe Curran put their heads together.

The effect of strikes and wage boosts on the elections is worrying the Democrats and liberals, who do not want voters boiling over with anger at organized labor on November 7. The C. I. O. officially says there is no danger of mass strikes in its affiliated unions. However, Murray is scheduled to speak frankly on wage stabilization at a meeting in Chicago on September 28 and 29.

The statistics Schwellenbach took to the White House show the seriousness of the economic crisis. While the hourly wage rate of factory workers reached a record high of $1.09 in July, weekly earnings slumped to $43 with the average work week only 39.4 hours. From July to September last year real wages slid down 8 per cent. Rising wage rates granted in the so-called "first round" had made up over half this loss by June of this year, but the recovery of earnings was completely erased by price advances after June 30. Moreover, only one-fourth of factory workers received the 18½ cents an hour increase; one-fifth did not get any raise. In the textile industry chiseling employers who did not grant increases boldly asked the OPA for price raises because of the "first round." Workers in trades and services and white-collar classifications benefited little by the 18½-cent increase. The decline in real earnings has been the most marked in the durable-goods industries, where reduction of hours and down-grading has been most drastic. Real wages of durable-goods workers two months ago were 13 per cent less than in July, 1945, and at the lowest level since 1941.

The top economists in the government believe these statistics point to a succession of minor crises, each one eating away public confidence. They do not expect a severe depression in the next few years, because employment is high, demand is great, and both industry and the middle class have a backlog of savings. But they are afraid that indefinable thing called "public confidence" may fall off so sharply that the United States will tumble into a selling spree.

Through it all President Truman remains cheerful and undisturbed. A week ago today he told his news conference there was no emergency facing the nation, and he saw no need to call Congress back. The boys were entitled to some time campaigning and resting.

Clash of Two Systems

BY VERA MICHELES DEAN

WHATEVER defects may be attributed to the Paris Peace Conference by contemporary commentators and future historians, it has already made a signal contribution to the universal debate on the problems of our times. For in Paris, to an extent seldom approached in the past, some of the fundamental issues that divide Russia and the Western world have been squarely joined—not in the rarefied atmosphere of discussions among an academic élite, but in the full glare of publicity, around the diplomatic green table, where the stakes are the life and death of nations.

Outwardly the conference of the "twenty-one" may not seem to differ very markedly from the many conclaves—from Westphalia through Vienna and Berlin to Paris and the Treaty of Versailles—which have sought to reweave the broken and tangled threads of the Holy Roman Empire into some new pattern of stability and peace. Press dispatches are studded with the all too familiar names of problems which have plagued diplomats for centuries—Venezia Giulia, Macedonia, Bulgaria's demand for an outlet on the Aegean, Transylvania, control of the Dardanelles. But underlying the ancient struggle for strategic bases and allegedly defensible frontiers, the starkness of which has been not one whit diminished by the atomic bomb, is the clash, no longer concealed, between two main forms of economic enterprise—what we call free enterprise (and the Russians "monopoly capitalism") on one side, and what the Russians call socialism (and we communism) on the other.

True, the barely finished war between the United Nations and the Axis powers was also fraught with far-reaching political-economic implications. But that war, except for the participation of Russia, was waged by more or less industrialized countries which basically accepted the concept of private capital, even though in Germany and Japan private production was harnessed by the state to its machinery of military expansion. The social structure made familiar in the Western world by the development of large-scale industry built on investments by individuals at their own risk, with all its legal connotations, had not been materially altered by the totalitarian regimes of the Axis powers.

At the Paris Peace Conference, by contrast, we see emerging the outlines of a new economic struggle—this time not between relatively equal industrial giants, but

VERA MICHELES DEAN is research director of the Foreign Policy Association. Her most recent book is "The Four Cornerstones of Peace."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

between Russia and its eastern satellites, all still backward industrially, and the highly industrialized countries of the West, led by the United States—countries whose combined power of production far exceeds that of the U. S. S. R. at the present time. In this struggle the ultimate weapons may prove to be rockets and atomic bombs. But at this stage the weapons are, on the side of the West, capital resources needed for the development of backward areas, technical "know-how," command of means of transportation and communication — notably civil aviation, merchant shipping, and cable systems—and the persisting belief that economic freedom is a prerequisite for political democracy. On the side of Russia, technically the weaker side, the weapons are exaction of reparations from the former enemy countries under the vigilant supervision of Russian armed forces, participation by the Russian state in some of the key enterprises of these countries—usually on a fifty-fifty basis—the proffer by Russia of a huge, barely tapped market for the manufactured goods of its neighbors, and a strong appeal to the nationalist pride of industrially backward peoples who have long resented Western "exploitation" of their resources.

Foreign Minister Molotov gave the key to this conflict in his remarks to the Paris Peace Conference on August 15, when he sarcastically discussed the principle of economic "equality of opportunity" advocated by the United States, especially as applied to navigation of the Danube and trade in the countries of Eastern Europe and the Balkans occupied by Russia. Molotov's remarks revealed the deep-seated, well-nigh neurotic anxiety that the Russian leaders feel when they compare the war-shattered condition of their economy, only partially developed during the past quarter of a century at a high cost in human suffering, with the untouched and war-expanded industrial resources of the United States, which they regard both as their principal model and their principal menace. From the point of view of the Russians—and, it must be said in fairness, of many others, including the British—economic "equality of opportunity" for the United States really means inequality for countries less well equipped by talent or good fortune to compete for world trade. In the race for economic power, as they see it, the United States should be made to accept a handicap—otherwise the race will hardly be equal.

For the Soviet government is confronted with the stupendous task of economic reconstruction, starting practically from scratch. It has the advantage that since 1917 thousands of its citizens have learned at least the rudiments of machine civilization, but it has also a major liability. The population, while desperately weary after years of peace-time deprivation and war, has gained an inkling of the amenities of life available to many peoples outside Russia's borders. Even if the Soviet leaders were genuinely convinced that they have nothing to fear from the Western world in the years it will take them to rebuild the country's economy to the 1941 level, not to speak of further advances, they would be reluctant to permit psychological demobilization of the Russian people, who might thus succumb to the mood of slow-down experienced by other nations that participated in the war.

In theory, it might be argued that the Kremlin could greatly ease its task of reconstruction and cut the cost to the Russian people by seeking abroad the type of long-term loans and investments that made possible the early development of other industrial nations, notably the United States. And in the first flush of enthusiasm for Russia during the war it seemed probable that this country would be ready to extend a large loan or credit to facilitate Russian reconstruction. For political reasons, however, the Soviet leaders have always been loath to accept loans or permit foreign investments, regarding these as an entering wedge for foreign intervention. And in the present atmosphere of mutual distrust it is highly improbable that the American Congress would authorize a loan intended to strengthen Russia.

Yet the Russians are determined to build up their economic strength, and in the absence of loans they are doing so by their own methods. First, they tried to recoup some of their losses in machinery and tools and to fill their most urgent needs for consumers' goods by taking what they wanted from Germany and the Axis satellites as the reparations specified in the Potsdam declaration and the various armistice agreements—unfortunately for the Western powers specified in ambiguous language and without provision for United Nations supervision. The Russians regard reparations as their due compensation for the economic losses they suffered during the war. That is why any attempt to check up on reparations, such as was undertaken by the Australian delegation, or to scale them down to "capacity to pay," or to substitute payments in currency for payments in kind is regarded in Moscow as a sinister maneuver to balk Russia's legitimate replenishment of its war-depleted resources.

The Russians themselves, however, have been prompt to see that reparations are at best a stop-gap, and have therefore laid down the main lines of an economic program that would permanently funnel machinery, tools, and manufactured goods into Russia, supplementing its own production without perpetuating the antagonism aroused by Russian levies in ex-enemy and even in friendly countries. This program takes several forms. The Russians are encouraging the resumption of full

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

production in factories within their orbit, often under pre-war management, on condition that they obtain a share of control over these enterprises and receive a specified amount of their production. The effect of such arrangements is that the factories of neighboring countries—and this practice is to be extended to Italy by the proposed terms of the peace treaty—work for the Russian market and in some cases obtain their raw materials from Russia. The economy of these countries is thus being gradually made dependent on that of the U. S. S. R. —with the political corollary that it becomes less and less in their interest to join in any attack on their chief customer and supplier. This policy would of course reach the acme of success if the industrial know-how of the Germans could be joined with the man-power of the Russians in a huge pool of production that would challenge, if it did not ultimately outmatch, that of the United States and other Western countries together. To prevent the economic junction of Germany and Russia has been one of the main objectives of recent American policy.

The Soviet government, however, has not completely dispensed with the machinery of trade arrangements familiar to the Western world. For example, it has concluded an agreement with Swiss enterprises for the distribution of Rumanian oil—some of which is the property of private interests in Western countries which are now seeking compensation in Paris—and has been negotiating a long-term credit from Sweden for the purchase of certain types of machinery, some of which it might otherwise have bought here or in Britain. While thus consolidating its economic position in Eastern Europe, Russia has been aspersing the Western powers for their attempts to dominate civil aviation in certain European countries, notably Italy, and to form trade combinations of their own.

The immediate result of Russia's collection of reparations in kind from countries whose economy had already been disorganized by war has been to deplete their resources to a dangerous extent and to reduce their standard of living, which in most cases had been higher than that of Russia. A cynic might contend that this is the principal purpose of the Soviet government, which may hope that growing economic stringency will bring about full-fledged communism. Russia, however, genuinely needs some of the products of neighboring countries. While its program of requirements may seem to endanger the economies of these nations, it may, under favorable circumstances, hasten their industrialization. For unlike Germany, which, being itself highly industrialized, looked upon Eastern Europe and the Balkans as a market and a source of raw materials, Russia with its rich storehouse of raw materials and its lack of manufactured goods, looks to Hungary, Poland, and even Rumania, not to speak of Finland and Czechoslovakia, for goods its cannot currently produce in adequate quantities.

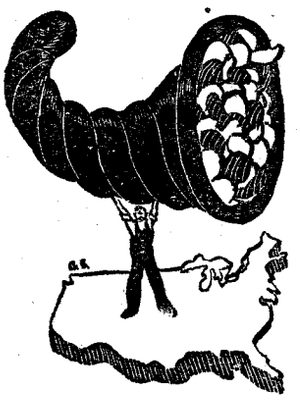
Russia's economic program abroad, conceived out of scarcity and not out of plenty, directly challenges the foreign-trade policy the United States has been evolving since the war. In sharp contrast to Russia, this country, if producing to capacity, has a surplus of goods for export, and therefore favors liberalization of world trade through the conclusion of multilateral arrangements and the abandonment of restrictions and discriminations. It is in support of this policy that Washington has protested to Stockholm and Moscow against the impending Swedish credit to Russia. Yet admittedly one of the most serious restrictions on world trade is the American tariff, one of whose main objectives is to protect American industry from the competition of products made by cheaply paid labor in less advanced countries. Now Moscow is turning the tables on us, and seeking to shut out our highly competitive goods, which Russian industry cannot match, from what is, in essence, the protected market it has fenced off at the Oder. Time was when we might have helped to industrialize the countries now in Russia's orbit, thus aiding them to become both good customers for our exports and fertile ground for democratic ideas. If we want to do this now, we can do it only through some form of partnership with Russia, which has staked out "squatters' rights" in that area. And a partnership would imply that investments in the eastern countries would have to be made with relatively little hope of obtaining financial advantages—which means that they would probably have to be made by or with the aid of the American government, rather than by private investors. Such a program would reopen some markets for American goods, but at the same time it would restrict still further the scope of private enterprise.

If, however, Russia remains wedded to its present course of playing a lone hand in Eastern Europe and the Balkans, then our remaining alternative is to foster as wide an area of liberalized trade as we can among the United States, Britain, the British Dominions, and Western Europe. But even this limited program will depend for its success upon confidence in the long-term stability of our economy on the part of these nations and upon their own chance of successful competition. Their confidence cannot but be shaken by the oscillations and internal conflicts from which our economy has suffered since the war. It is our own uncertainty about the future of the economic system symbolized by the United States which lends such grim significance to the clashes in Paris between Russia and the West.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Horn of Plenty

BY JAMES HEARST



THE war emergency is over, but the lack of food still torments the world. The world is hungry for peace too. The men who speak for international goodwill say there is some connection between these two needs. The farmer hopes they are right, for he is ending the current crop year under the same constant pressure for high production as during the war years. He finds, though, that his land and his machinery have depreciated.

It is an item that the farmer will willingly cross off his books if the job of feeding people has been well done. The stories of hunger and starvation that came out of Europe and Asia made him sick at heart. No decent person was unmoved by them; no one with any regard for his neighbor failed to give some aid. But it was a problem which only the farmer could deal with practically and directly; he was the man on whom the solution finally depended. Now, at the end of the growing season, I think the farmer may make some comment on what he has done.

Perhaps it is only fair to say that the farmer was suspicious last spring when the sudden and peremptory demand for food rang out on all the networks. It was not credible to him that the men who gather statistics had not known long before this what the food shortage would be. Questions crowded into his mind which he would like answered some day. Why didn't this country start saving food the year before at harvest time, when it was readily available? Are there interests in this country which wanted to lay in their annual supply of grain before the hungry people got theirs? Was it thought that food might be used to support political strategy?

The farmer himself takes his sights for the year farther back than most people think. For example, he must determine the approximate size of his spring pig crop some time during the previous fall. A sow won't be hurried: she expects to have at least 115 days to produce a litter of pigs. Plans for a dairy herd must be laid even farther back: a cow takes nine months to produce a calf, and usually it is just one calf. The man who feeds cattle or sheep—the corn-belt finisher—juggles so many factors in making up his mind that it is a wonder he ever arrives at a decision. The kind of crop and the size of each crop must be determined long before planting time. Seed and fertilizer must be obtained, soil-conservation measures planned, labor hired, machinery bought or repaired. The farm year starts long before spring, and once the whole organization of a farm is in motion it gathers its own momentum which carries it along to the end of the year. All the last-minute orders, suggestions, and advice can't hold back the old sow's pigs or make the cornfield grow up to clover.

If suggestions were reciprocal, or alternating like an electric current, I think most farmers would like to say to Mr. LaGuardia, or whoever speaks for UNRRA: When people are starving, don't wait until the last minute to tell the farmers.

Three of the things that motivate a farmer are these, and I think that they are important in this order—the demands of his job, good prices, public demand. I put the demands of his job first because most farmers like to farm—if they didn't they wouldn't be doing it—and farming means growing crops and livestock. Regardless of prices and their relationship to costs, a farmer wants to make his farm productive. He likes to grow things. On this single impulse the public depends for its bread. Prices before the end of OPA last June seemed high enough to most farmers—to 70 per cent of them according to the public-opinion polls. This was especially true of farmers old enough to remember the price slump in 1921. But during the war the government gave the farmers and the food processors subsidies to stimulate production. The subsidies were mainly to protect the consumer and were scarcely a drop in the bucket compared to the subsidies in the cost-plus contracts given to industry—though food was as important as airplanes—but the manufacturers hated them bitterly. The government knew the farmer would plant, cultivate, and harvest whether there was a war or not. It knew the farmer didn't have to be bribed. All the government did, in the name of the people, was to hustle him along a little. He is still hustling, but he has time to stop for a glance at the record.

In the first part of August the United States Department of Agriculture issued a small pamphlet which was

JAMES HEARST of Maplehearst Farm, Cedar Falls, Iowa, has contributed articles to various magazines presenting a reflective farmer's views on problems close to his work and life.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

probably read by comparatively few people, mostly farmers, editors, and statisticians. Yet it was of utmost importance to 140,000,000 Americans, and it should give comforting news to the underfed people of the world. A crop forecast as of August 1, it showed that the present corn crop is estimated at 3,340,000,000 bushels. This may be compared with the ten-year average of a little over two and a half billion bushels. In Iowa alone the 1946 corn crop is estimated at 650,000 bushels, worth in dollars and cents more than the amount received for the entire citrus fruit crop. (This statement is addressed particularly to Iowans who have migrated to California.)

The present wheat crop will amount to slightly more than one billion bushels—the fourth billion-bushel crop—as compared with a ten-year average of about 800,000,000. The total oat crop amounted to 1,400,000,000 bushels, or about 300,000,000 above the 1935-44 average. The flaxseed total is less than one-half that average. It is too early to forecast the soy-bean yield, but the acreage is down two million acres below last year. Thus the yield of cereal grains is at an all-time high, while the yield of oil-producing seeds is somewhat curtailed.

The Department of Agriculture reports that total food supplies for civilians in 1946 are somewhat larger than they were last year. Even meat supplies, which seem to bear the burden of consumer complaint these days, are several pounds greater per capita than ever before.

These statistics may not be entertaining, but they should be very reassuring. They mean that our own citizens will have an ample supply of food and that we can help feed people in other countries not yet on a self-sustaining basis. It is the plan of the Department of Agriculture to export 250,000,000 bushels of wheat during the 1946-47 marketing year, a figure that would have seemed pretty wishful last spring, when the carry-over of old grain was the lowest in years.

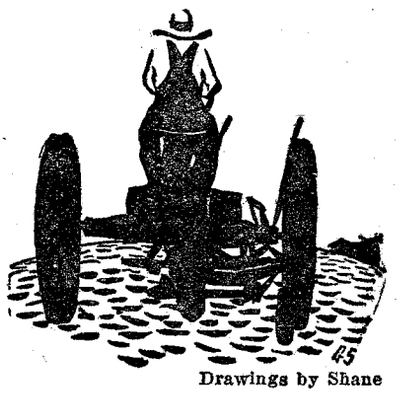
Grain supplies were presented in the farm programs as of predominant importance. Prices and goals were weighted so as to increase grain production and distribution at the expense of livestock. It was well advertised, for example, that one acre of corn fed as cereal will support ten times as many people as it would if it were converted into beef. What success this program had was achieved by raising grain prices and holding down livestock prices. The intent and purpose was to raise the food that would feed the greatest number of people. The cost of the program was hardly taken into account.

But I think the cost should be mentioned briefly to show the American people how to control their appetites. Here are a few items from the Department of Agriculture livestock report which belong in this cost accounting: Beef cattle on feed are the lowest on record; the number of lambs is sharply below a year ago—the spring crop is reduced 13 per cent; dairy cattle numbers are down, with 3 per cent fewer cows than last year and 7 per cent fewer one- and two-year-old heifers; turkey numbers are 15 per cent below a year ago; poultry numbers are declining, with 20 per cent fewer chicks hatched since January 1; the fall pig crop is 16 per cent below last year's—but the total pig crop amounts to almost 52,000,000 head, which is about the same as the total last year.

Then there is a cost which the department and the OPA may not have expected. This is a cost in hard feelings which may take several years to be fully amortized. The Middle Western farmer, who had loyally supported the OPA, was faithlessly ignored when a rapid increase in corn prices were allowed *after* most of the corn was out of the farmer's hands. And after the hold-the-line policy had been solemnly sworn to before the public.

Is the farmer proud of his remarkable success in producing another huge supply of food just at the right time to do the most good? Does he enjoy his present prestige as one of the most important figures in world history?

The farmers in my community are just thankful that everything went as well as it did. They are inclined to give the weather most of the credit. They take for granted the adjustment and readjustment of their plans, the sacrifice of livestock, their own hard work. It was what had to be done.



Drawings by Shane

Instead of feeling proud, I think farmers are feeling a little fearful these days. There are some ominous signs in the sky. The farmer sees that our military forces are gradually shrinking and that their need for food is consequently falling off. He sees UNRRA getting ready to wind up its affairs and leave the market. He sees labor's purchasing power diminished by loss of overtime pay and rising prices. Thoughtfully he considers his own business, running with the governor wide open, and he sees—or imagines he sees—the specter of his own efforts come back to mock him in the form of too much food at too low a price.

The horn of plenty may turn out to be one of the horns of his dilemma. Already he is being deserted by his allies. Certain labor groups, his best customers, are vigorously protesting any rise in prices to farmers, while their own efforts in the direction of higher wages simply increase the cost of the things he buys. Management ignores his distressing need for new machines and machine repairs, and sits in its counting-house reckoning tax refunds. Next year, he thinks gloomily, when the

LIBRARY
EAST TENNESSEE STATE COLLEGE
JOHNSON CITY, TENNESSEE
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

public finds itself short of meat, it will not be slow to criticize the farmer. The fact that he gave up his livestock program so that people might have bread will be forgotten by then.

But the farmer has only odd moments in which to worry. The year isn't over yet. He still has 91,000,000 acres of corn to husk; 11,000,000 acres of soy beans to thresh; 52,000,000 pigs to feed; 27,000,000 cows to milk; and 2,300,000,000 dozen eggs to gather. We all should be thankful for that.

Fascism, Philippine Style

BY R. F. MILLON

THE newly created Philippine Republic is today rocketing toward fascism under the leadership of its President, Manuel Acuna Roxas. That part of the island economy which is not in ruins is dominated by American capitalists, Filipino and Spanish fascists, or Filipinos who collaborated with the Japanese in the war against the United States. Philippine imports and exports, present and potential, are irretrievably tied to the United States for the next twenty-eight years under conditions most unfair to the Philippines. The Filipino people are still suffering grievously from the devastation wrought by war and the vicious inflation that followed it. President Roxas is savagely crushing all opposition to his administration. His methods range from arbitrarily excluding members of the opposition party from the new Philippine Congress to using the army to murder the peasants of central Luzon—peasants who have organized to fight for emancipation from a feudal slavery which still exists almost fifty years after Spain relinquished the islands to the benevolent custody of the United States.

The responsibility for this sad state of affairs rests squarely with the United States, for our government, in the persons of General MacArthur and High Commissioner McNutt, helped Roxas win his present high position. The American colonial regime in the Philippines has ended, but it has ended, not in a spirit of good-will and of pride in a job well done, but in such a shameful manner that we can no longer pretend our policy there was other than one of partly disguised imperialism.

The central figure in any discussion of the Philippines today is Manuel Roxas. His record must be exposed clearly if the causes of the present economic and political turmoil in the infant republic are to be understood.

R. F. MILLON spent eighteen months in the Philippines as an officer at General MacArthur's headquarters. His job for the greater part of that time was the detection and exposure of collaborators in the Philippine army. In the course of his work he collected much material on the political situation and became acquainted with many persons prominent in the Islands.

Many attempts have been made in the American press to whitewash Roxas. The facts, without whitewash, damn him. Briefly, Roxas served in a highly important, policy-making post in the "Cabinet" of José P. Laurel, whom the Japanese installed as puppet President. His more detailed record follows:

Before the war Roxas (pronounced *roe-haas*) was the third most important politician in the Philippines, ranking behind Manuel Quezon—dynamic, vigorous, dictatorial—the first President of the Philippine Commonwealth, and Sergio Osmeña—quiet, capable, self-effacing—the Commonwealth's Vice-President who became President in 1944 upon the death of Quezon. At the outbreak of the war Roxas's personal popularity with the people was very great. He had just been elected to the Philippine Senate by an overwhelming vote, and he was regarded by many as the logical successor to President Quezon. When the Japanese invasion began, Roxas left the government service and became General MacArthur's liaison officer with President Quezon. In Mindanao, after the departure of MacArthur and Quezon for Australia, Roxas was offered the leadership of the resistance movement on that southern island, but refused. Instead he chose to surrender to the Japanese, who held him in prison until February, 1943, when he was suddenly released and brought to Manila.

Shortly thereafter Roxas was asked to become a member of the Preparatory Commission for Philippine Independence, which was being used as a front by the Japanese to make the people feel that the "independence" they would soon be granted would be the real thing. Roxas agreed and worked with the commission in creating a constitution for the new "republic." Of his part in this enterprise he states: "I wanted to prevent a dictatorial government which would give the Japanese even greater power." Actually, the puppet government's constitution as prepared, written, and signed by Roxas was modeled after the fascist constitution of Japan, even though it preserved the outward form of the Commonwealth constitution. Gone were civil liberties. The National Assembly was to be composed of appointive members. The President was to be granted dictatorial powers.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Roxas, though committed to the idea of a democratic regime, supported the new government and constitution, and publicly posed with the drafters and signers of the document. Shortly after the inauguration of José P. Laurel as President, Roxas accepted an important post in the Laurel government—the post of chairman of the Economic Planning Board. By thus formally joining the puppet government, Roxas, whether he realized it or not, whether he intended it or not, capitalized on his popularity with the Philippine people to give material aid to the Japanese. The essential truth about his sort of collaboration was ably put by Solicitor General Lorenzo Tanada, chief prosecutor of the People's Court in Manila, in his memorandum for the prosecution in the treason trial of Teofilo Sison, a fellow "Cabinet" member of Roxas's, on February 9 of this year:

> . . . In choosing as their collaborators well-known, able, and respected leaders of the Philippines, the Japanese knew that they could accomplish a purpose, perform a service, no other group of men could. And the reasons for the choice are plain and damning. Japan's long-range policy, as already stated, was to alienate the Filipinos from the United States and thus exploit them and their resources more efficiently in the war against the United Nations. . . . What Filipinos were most likely to influence their countrymen with advice and counsel along the lines of Japanese policy?
>
> Best qualified, best fitted for this purpose were the men called. . . . Of the Filipino leaders left behind, they were the most popular and powerful figures in politics and government, whose long and brilliant record of service it is superfluous to mention here. The fact that not one of them had ever been accused openly of pro-Japanese sympathies increased their persuasive effectiveness. If the Japanese had made the mistake of inviting . . . avowed pro-Japanese . . . to form the constitution, the Filipino people would never have been deceived, they would have recognized them at once and acted accordingly. And there would never have been any question in the mind of the rest of the world as to whom such men represented. . . .
>
> The truth is, the people of the occupied districts, stunned by continuous enemy success, were all waiting for their trusted leaders to point the way. Presenting a solid front, they might have refused to yield anything that the enemy could not have taken by force, they might have offered passive resistance. Instead they were told to cooperate. Setting an example, their leaders showed them how, and they also told them why.

Nor should it be forgotten that collaboration with the enemy meant collaboration with fascism. In the occupied countries of Europe it was demonstrated that the line between collaborator and fascist was at best a faint one.

On September 21, 1944, Roxas gave his assent to a declaration of war against the United States and Great Britain. He was quoted to this effect at the time by "President" Laurel, and the statement was recorded in the official minutes of the meeting in question.

In April, 1945, six weeks after the liberation of Manila, when the Americans were nearing Baguio, summer capital of the Philippines, to which Laurel and his Cabinet had fled when Manila was threatened, Roxas made his way through the Japanese lines, along with the other puppet ministers who did not go to Japan with Laurel, and reached the American forces. All the members of the party except Roxas were imprisoned. Roxas was freed by General MacArthur on the ground that he had aided the guerrillas throughout the occupation.

WHAT MAKES A TRAITOR?

Even granting, as General MacArthur claims, that Roxas aided the resistance movement, though there is little evidence of any such activity, that would not of itself absolve the man of the charge of treasonable collaboration with the enemy. Whatever he may have done to help the guerrillas privately, he did considerably more publicly toward destroying them. His very presence in the government, which lent it the air of independence the Japanese wanted, his actions as chairman of the Economic Planning Board, his example in preparing and signing the constitution—all these things served the cause he pretended to oppose. Pompeyo Diaz, presiding judge in the division of the People's Court which convicted Teofilo Sison of treason last March, used words which would apply equally well to Roxas:

> . . . One may style himself a guerrilla or protector of guerrillas and yet be a traitor to his country if he has sought to serve two masters at a time.
>
> The position of the accused, if we grant his connection with the underground movement, can be no better than that of the vultures in human form, the merchants of death, who amassed huge fortunes during the war by selling materials to the enemy but, loving themselves as much as the money that flowed into their hands, gave away substantial sums to guerrilla units. It certainly can be said of them that they sought to serve both God and the devil.

In the same decision Judge Diaz said:

> . . . The act of accepting and holding any policy-making or directing position in any of the puppet governments and discharging the duties and functions of these positions is treasonable in itself. . . .

Roxas is therefore clearly guilty of treason. Yet today he is President of the Philippines.

General MacArthur indorsed Roxas. So did General Tomoyuki Yamashita, former Japanese commander-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

in-chief in the Philippines. In an interview in his cell shortly before his execution, General Yamashita, when asked whether Roxas had been a secret guerrilla while pretending to aid the Japanese, "laughed loudly."

Looking at Roxas's record objectively then, it may be wondered why the United States army directly, and the Truman Administration by default, cleared him of treasonable activities during the Japanese occupation. Somewhere along the line strong pressure in his behalf must have been exerted. At any rate, armed with the clearance from General MacArthur which so greatly influenced the people of the Philippines, Roxas and powerful moneyed interests—such as those headed by the notorious prewar fascist Andres Soriano, one of MacArthur's staff officers, and the Elizalde and de Leon families, and including certain powerful American interests—launched the campaign to elect Roxas to the Presidency. This group also had the full support of the remainder of the collaborators, men still influential because of their great wealth, who naturally backed Roxas as the only man who could save them. Conversely, President Osmeña was supported by all the progressive, democratic, and left-wing elements, including the Democratic Alliance, the only progressive political party in the Philippines, and the still powerful guerrilla group, the Hukbalahap.

The real issues, however, were hidden from the people by the Roxas-controlled press. The familiar attacks on minorities were made. José Zulueta, pro-Roxas Speaker of the House of Representatives, called the turn when he said: "The Chinese, Indians, and Jews are the ones who are enriching themselves." "General MacArthur cleared him," was the answer to charges of collaboration leveled against Roxas. High Commissioner Paul V. McNutt, by publicly stating last March that it did not matter to the government of the United States who won the election, gave the green light to Roxas. President Osmeña, who lacked the vigor and personal magnetism of his predecessor, Manuel Quezon, was attacked as "tired, aging, slow-moving." In spite of the efforts of the Democratic Alliance to bring out the facts, the Roxas machine won. On April 23 the self-styled "Man of Destiny" was elected by a slim majority.

[*This is the first of two articles by Mr. Millon on the situation in the Philippines.*]

The Shakeout

BY ARNOLD BEICHMAN

IN CASE you don't get around, a new contribution to the language is making rapid headway in "intellectual" business circles. It is a contribution which should interest the student of semantics. It consists of a single word—"shakeout." Webster's Unabridged makes no mention of this word, either by itself or under the verb "to shake." So we must assume that "shakeout" is a word which the editors of the *United States News* coined and are now popularizing on the management level.

The earliest use of "shakeout," I believe, was noted in *United States News* back in July, when intelligent business "opinioneers" began to feel some concern about the nation's economic well-being—living costs, slackening production, strikes, international friction, poor production scheduling, possible overrating of the consumer market, overextension of loans and credit, speculation in inventories. To these theoreticians the business cycle seemed to be sliding along to what might ordinarily be termed "bust." The ideologists of the right, imbued with a firm belief that America must not be sold short, seem to feel that one must be sensitive to the nuances of words used to describe economic regression. A panic chain-reaction might be set off if their warnings contained such image and total-recall words as "depression" (1929) or "collapse" (1932) or "recession" (1937). Fearful of making the business man's flesh creep, they have emerged with the word "shakeout."

The September 6 issue of *United States News* predicts a shakeout within twelve months or less. (This issue was printed before the recent "shakeout" in the stock market.) *United States News* says a shakeout is inevitable before the country can arrange its economic affairs on a more efficient basis, but it consoles the brow-furrowed business man with the prediction that the shakeout will not mean a long depression.

If you examine the word in context, you feel with the business weekly that this shakeout is probably a good idea, like the medieval surgeon's view of a phlebotomy. Shaking out clothes to get rid of the dust, shaking out a tablecloth to get rid of bread crumbs, shaking out weak speculators in a commodity market—all are minor operations and don't hurt. It is possible that a better word for this delicate economic concept might have been "shakedown"—there is the shakedown cruise of newly launched battleships, during which, as Frank Sullivan's Mr. Arbuthnot might say, "the bugs are ironed out." But the word "shakedown" has such ugly connotations

ARNOLD BEICHMAN is publicity director of the joint board of the New York Dress and Waistmakers' Union.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

that it patently had to be eschewed for "shakeout." (I notice that C. F. Hughes in the New York *Times* prefers the word "shakedown.")

Informed magazines like *Business Week* are plainly concerned about the future, the immediate future. The increase of almost $2,500,000,000 in business loans over a year ago is the subject of the lead story in a recent issue of *Business Week* which warns that rising prices and inventory speculation may mean a smash.

Among the news-letter writers who cater to business men and management planners, there is an air of realism which is far healthier in some respects than the serenity which enveloped their predecessors during the Hoover depression. But the realism is actually confined to sober warnings of shoals ahead. The warnings lack constructive suggestions on what the economy must do to save itself, even from a shakeout of small duration. For constructive suggestions might necessitate a revaluation of present-day business thinking on, for example, how to broaden the purchasing power of the masses of consumers.

Here the business theoreticians fall back on that ancient human technique, demonology. We know what's coming; who's to blame? That is easy. The scapegoats are those old debbils labor and government. Labor wants more money, government helps labor, government besets business with all kinds of controls; so what do you expect? A shakeout. Hold your hats, boys, the wind is rising.

On prognosis, the ideologists of the right know what they're talking about. On diagnosis, they are like aborigines beating the drums to exorcise the evil spirits, except that they know better. They know better because they have source material which tells them what the trouble is, and it's not in the stock market, where the argument rages whether the Exchange follows business or business follows the Exchange. They know the results of a National Survey of Liquid Asset Holdings, Spending, and Saving conducted for the Federal Reserve Board by the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, a survey which showed business writers like C. F. Hughes of the New York *Times* that "the pent-up demand represented by bank deposits and government securities is largely in the hands of the top 10 per cent [of the nation's spending units, or families], who own the 60 per cent. The other 90 per cent own 40 per cent, and it is here that industry expects to draw upon savings for its millions of sales of appliances and what not." This report, characterized by the *Times* business editor as "highly significant," disclosed that the top 30 per cent of American families hold 87 per cent of liquid assets owned in 1945; the next 30 per cent hold 12 per cent; and *the remaining 40 per cent of American families own only 1 per cent of the nation's liquid-asset holdings*. It was analyzed and quoted in great detail by the business magazines, which understood its importance but failed to relate it to the prevailing view of American business—that if government would go away and if labor would go away, business could descend from Mt. Pisgah and lead us into Canaan.

Our business theoreticians were also acquainted with the report on economic concentration and World War II made by the Smaller War Plants Corporation to the Senate Special Committee to Study Problems of American Small Business. This study showed the extent of concentration with the disclosure that the "facility holdings of the 250 largest corporations in 1945 approximately equaled those of *all* [report's italics] corporations in 1939." It showed that "by the middle of 1945 the sixty-three largest listed manufacturing corporations, with assets of over $100,000,000, had increased their net working capital to $8,400,000,000, more than that of all listed manufacturing corporations in 1939, and . . . at the end of 1945 they will hold nearly $10,000,000,000 of highly liquid net working capital." It showed that "the facilities of corporations controlled by five great financial interest groups—Morgan, Rockefeller, Mellon, du Pont, and the Cleveland group—would be equal to nearly half that of all manufacturing corporations in 1939."

If business thinking is to make its contribution to solving the growing-old pangs of our economy, it will not be by a frenetic search for euphemisms for the word "depression." It will not be by working up a good case-history on the sick patient and then retreating from a recommendation for surgical procedures. You cannot be an economic sophisticate on the one hand and a laissez faire primitive on the other.

The inner contradictions within the capitalist system are personalized in the inner-soul contradictions of the business-magazine writers, who have a powerful influence on business men. But the economic well-being of our nation will not be furthered by the use of shibboleths like free enterprise, business competition, laissez faire, no government interference, control of trade unions. There is little point in criticizing Britain's revolution by consent and arguing that democratic processes will "have a better chance to survive and thrive in association with a genuinely competitive system of private enterprise than they will in association with any system of economic collectivism," as *Business Week* said on August 31. The Senate Small Business Committee report washes up that myth of "a genuinely competitive system of private enterprise."

Over and above all this is the appalling fatalism with which the business ideologists, who know better, accept, as the grim visitation of some impersonal destiny, the ineluctable "shakeout." This fatalism ignores the fact that shakeout means unhappy people, joblessness, not enough to eat, further weakening of private enterprise. It is possible that Americans, having experienced the long and bitter shakeout starting in 1929, may be unwilling to sit by for another to blow itself away.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BOOKS and the ARTS

Slow Movement

Waking, he found himself in a train, andante,
With wafers of early sunlight blessing the unknown fields
And yesterday canceled out, except for yesterday's papers
Huddling under the seat.

It is still very early, this is a slow movement;
The viola-player's hand like a fish in a glass tank
Rises, remains quivering, darts away
To nibble invisible weeds.

Great white nebulae lurch against the window
To deploy across the valley, the children are not yet up
To wave us on—we pass without spectators,
Braiding a voiceless creed.

And the girl opposite, name unknown, is still
Asleep and the color of her eyes unknown
Which might be wells of sun or moons of wish
But it is still very early.

The movement ends, the train has come to a stop
In buttercup fields, the fiddles are silent, the whole
Shoal of silver tessellates the aquarium
Floor, not a bubble rises . . .

And what happens next on the program we do not know,
If, the red line topped on the gauge, the fish will go
mad in the tank
Accelerando con forza, the sleeper open her eyes
And, so doing, open ours.

LOUIS MACNEICE

Newman as Man and Critic

ERNEST NEWMAN has completed his gigantic "Life of Richard Wagner" with a fourth volume of more than seven hundred pages (Knopf; $7.50), filled with the laborious piecing together and interpreting of documentary evidence concerning the happenings in Wagner's life from 1866 to his death in 1883. The matters with which those seven hundred pages deal—including as they do the relations between Wagner and Nietzsche, the building of Bayreuth, the completion of "Die Meistersinger," the "Ring," and "Parsifal"—are important and interesting (though the laboriously arrived-at detail is sometimes wearying); but more interesting, for me, is the nine-page appendix with which the volume—and the entire work—ends.

This appendix, entitled Bombastes Furioso, is concerned with the review of the third volume by the late Carl Engel in the April, 1941, issue of the *Musical Quarterly* (a footnote tells us that the appendix, written in the summer of 1941, is printed "precisely as it was then, though Dr. Engel died in 1944"). "Dr. Engel," writes Newman, "has so often honored me with his disapproval of myself and all my works that from sheer repetition I have long since ceased to be flattered by the compliment." But this time Engel included Newman and Wagner in one denunciation: "Having persuaded himself . . . that Wagnerism and Nazism are identical in root, flower, and fruit, he now suggests that if only we realized that to give up Wagner's music would merely be to give up 'the music of Klingsor who for one hundred years has numbed our senses with his witchcraft' and 'allowed to grow up round us a garden of gorgeous flowers that at last have revealed themselves as poisonous and death-dealing,' then 'we should retaliate, then we should ban and burn every scrap of Wagner's music and writings, and every book written about the amazing wizard, beginning with the books of the Anglo-Wagnerian Ernest Newman.'"

"If," Newman continues, "I have not made a practice of replying to Dr. Engel's ill-tempered comments on myself and my work during the last dozen years or so it is because I would as soon have thought of going round with an antiseptic cloth wiping up the slaver of a rabid dog. But I feel that I ought not to bring the present biography to a close without some exposure of the manners and the methods of this gentleman." For this purpose he proposes to discuss in detail a paragraph from Engel's review; "and the proof that Dr. Engel has in this case provided a perfect exposure of the bombastic ignoramus he mostly is may perhaps throw a side-light on some of his achievements in other fields."

Thereupon he quotes the paragraph:

> Appendix II [of the third volume] professes to deal with "the 'madness' of King Ludwig." If anything were needed to show the author's peculiar standpoint it is these three pages of print wherein, among other wild shots, the author accuses the "alienists" of having done "so obligingly" the Bavarian politicians' "dirty work" for them in 1886. Verily, one does not have to be an alienist or a psychiatrist to recognize the symptoms of Ludwig's mental malady. One has but to read the fragments of the King's own diaries . . . to gain an appalling glimpse into the suffering of that poor, perverted soul. Mr. Newman, with all his casuistry, cannot change the case-history of the royal patient and make him out a normal man, fit to reign over a kingdom.

Though Newman still insists that Ludwig was not insane it is not in order to "make him out a normal man, fit to reign over a kingdom." In the third volume Newman not only discussed Ludwig's sexual abnormality but described the excessive shyness and other behavior of an emotionally maladjusted person who nevertheless showed himself to be, in many situations, intelligent and "sane." And Newman is able to point out that "I have expressly said, in the eleventh line of the Appendix, that 'he had, of course, become quite impossible as a king'; not, however, because he was mad, but because he would not give proper attention to what he had come to regard as the tiresome and futile business of kingship." Not only did Engel ignore this statement, but Newman contends that the paragraph betrays Engel's ignorance of the published evidence "that Ludwig had never

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

been anyone's 'patient' for his 'mental malady,' and least of all the 'patient' of the four doctors who certified his incurable derangement in 1886"; that "not one of these men had ever examined him in any way, ever been in his presence, exchanged a single word with him"; and that they were the willing tools of a group of political conspirators who "wanted, and set about obtaining, a medical voucher only to give their coup d'état an appearance of legality afterwards." And at the end he says: "I have gone into this matter at such length because this one paragraph of Dr. Engel's provides in concentrated form a perfect sample of all the defects, congenital and acquired, of his mind. . . . He is a case for the pathologists."

Now to me this appendix of Newman's is a very curious episode. Authors reply to their critics; but they do it in a letter or an article published at the time of the criticism; they don't give the reply—and the criticism—the status of an appendix in the book itself several years later—certainly not when they liken the criticism to "the slaver of a rabid dog." Newman's explanations why he hasn't answered Engel in the past dozen years and why, after all, he does answer him now are, to me, unconvincing—each throwing doubt on the other: a man who had felt as indifferent to the criticism as to "the slaver of a rabid dog" would, it seems to me, be able to complete his work untroubled by the feeling that he "ought not" to complete it without exposing the criticism; and if he is not indifferent to it now one wonders whether he was indifferent before. In that connection I am struck by his intemperate language, which is not that of indifference—the indifference he would feel toward mere vicious stupidity; and so the question arises whether in those dozen years there wasn't something else that he was *not* indifferent to. And the answer is that there *was* something else, which he doesn't mention.

There was, in 1935, Engel's review of "The Man Liszt." This book was similar to the Wagner biography in purpose, method, and results: it offered, said Newman, the truth about Liszt—the truth, in particular, about his relation with the Countess d'Agoult—that he had derived from documentary source material, in place of the legend that other writers had been content to take from the official Ramann "Life" inspired by Liszt and the Princess Sayn-Wittgenstein. And Engel, in his review, contended that Newman's "truth" about the Liszt-d'Agoult relation was as colored and partial in favor of the Countess as the Ramann-Liszt-Wittgenstein "legend" had been in favor of Liszt; moreover he demonstrated that Newman had not derived that "truth" from the documentary source material, but had mistranslated, misinterpreted, and otherwise mishandled the material to make it fit the ideas he had regarded as the "truth."

Thus, in his account of the beginning of the relation, in 1833, the "legend" Newman attacked was that the Countess ensnared Liszt; the "truth" he offered in its place was that it was she who was reserved and Liszt who was the ardent wooer and seducer; and the documents he cited as evidence were their letters of that year. In his review Engel pointed out that in the volume in which they are published (which I have taken the trouble to look up) all of Liszt's letters of the year 1833—many undated, others with dates from August through December—are given first, then the

NORTON *"Books That Live"* IN MUSIC

MUSIC IN OUR TIME

Trends in Music since the Romantic Era

By Adolfo Salazar. The distinguished Spanish musicologist and composer traces the sources of contemporary music and shows how that music parallels the social and artistic currents of our time. *Illustrated with music examples.* $5.00

Music in Western Civilization

By Paul Henry Lang. The art of music in its relation to historical development. "A tremendous achievement."—*N. Y. Times.* *Illustrated.* $6.50

The Bach Reader

Edited by Hans T. David and Arthur Mendel. A Life of Johann Sebastian Bach in Letters and Documents. "Truly monumental . . . indispensable to all serious students."—*Musical America.* *Illustrated.* $6.00

The Diaries of Tchaikovsky

Translated from the Russian and Annotated by Wladimir Lakond. Translated for the first time, complete and unabridged, these diaries disclose the man and musician in his own words. *Illustrated.* $6.00

Harmony

By Walter Piston. A concise discussion of the harmonic materials commonly used by composers and the way these materials have been used. $4.50

Composer and Critic

By Max Graf. Two Hundred Years of Musical Criticism. The development of musical criticism in relation to the over-all cultural development of Western Europe and the United States. $3.75

The History of Musical Instruments

By Curt Sachs. "A mine of fascinating information . . . scrupulous scholarship."—*N. Y. Times Book Review.* *Illustrated.* $6.00

Steps to Parnassus

By Johann Joseph Fux. The Study of Counterpoint. The first modern translation, by Alfred Mann, Ed. *Illustrated.* $3.00

From Bach to Stravinsky

Edited by David Ewen. A History of Music by its Foremost Critics. "The most convenient book we have for a survey of European music."—*John Erskine.* $4.00

The Rise of Music in the Ancient World

By Curt Sachs. A fascinating history of music from primitive times to the middle ages. *Illustrated.* $5.50

Music in the Middle Ages

By Gustave Reese. ". . . the most authoritative modern essay on medieval music published in any language."—*Saturday Review of Literature.* *Illustrated.* $6.00

From Madrigal to Modern Music

By Douglas Moore. A Guide to Musical Styles. "No more significant gift could be offered to the thoughtful reader about music."—*Saturday Review.* $3.75

• *Coming This Fall* •

HAYDN
A Creative Life in Music.
By Karl Geiringer.
October. $5.00

MUSIC OF TCHAIKOVSKY
Edited by Gerald Abraham.
November. $3.75

At all bookstores

W. W. NORTON & CO. • 101 Fifth Avenue, New York 3

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

four of the Countess—the first two undated, the others dated May 20 and 26; and he might have added that the editor describes this arrangement at the beginning of the chapter when he speaks of "the letters and notes of Liszt which follow" and says explicitly that "the few letters of Madame d'Agoult pertaining to this period are added to his ('y sont joints')"—that is, added in a group after his, not interpolated among his. Yet, said Engel,

> Mr. Newman—having taken the reader through the Liszt letters into December, 1833—writes: "*At this stage* [Engel's italics] we have apparently the first of Marie's letters to him that have been preserved. She addresses him as 'Monsieur,' and discusses points connected with literature and music." The intended inference is obvious. The reader is made to believe that after a correspondence that has lasted for more than six months, during which Liszt has supposedly grown more and more fervent in his epistolary style, the coy and shrinking Marie still talks only literature and music, and addresses him with a formal "Monsieur." Mr. Newman omits to say in his narrative that among the four letters from Marie the third one is dated as early as May 20. Mr. Newman omits to say that in this letter will be found the impassioned appeal: "A genoux, Franz, à genoux, priez pour moi, sauvez-moi." Mr. Newman translates this phrase: "On your knees, pray for me, save me." Mr. Newman suppresses "Franz." Why? This letter was written on a Sunday night; on Monday morning Marie added a postscript which reads: "Mais non, je suis absurde, vous avez raison de ne pas m'écrire davantage, mais c'est que, voyez-vous, je vous aime quelque fois bêtement et dans ces moments-là je ne comprends plus que je ne pourrais, ne saurais, et ne devrais pas être pour vous une pensée absorbante comme vous l'êtes pour moi." Mr. Newman translates the first phrase of this: "No, I am not absurd," when the sense of it is the exact opposite.

Now the omission of the date and of "Franz" is important because it conceals from the reader the fact that, in Engel's words, "already in May, 1833, Marie made a full-fledged declaration of love to Liszt, called him in her letters by his first name, upbraided him for not writing more often, and admitted that she had no power, no means, no right to ask that she be as absorbing a thought for him as he is for her." And the insertion of "not" is important—but not because of the difference in meaning, which in this instance is negligible: one means the same realization of the absurdity of one's previous contention whether one says, "No, I am absurd; you are right to act as you do" or "No, I am not absurd; you are right to act as you do." What is important is the mere fact of the insertion of the word: after Engel's demonstration of such facts in "The Man Liszt" one reads "The Life of Richard Wagner" without the assurance one should have that Newman hasn't omitted a date or inserted a "not" where it may have made a great difference. And one is anything but reassured by his method of dealing with Engel's demonstration, in the appendix which he has made the conclusion of his monumental work.

Newman's writing provides a striking illustration of the fact that criticism is not only personal—in the sense of involving a particular person's equipment of critical insight and intellect—but involves the whole person. Newman the man is in the writing with Newman the critic—a decidedly unpleasant man too, as he comes through the writing: obtrusively conscious of the eminence and brilliance of Ernest Newman, pompous, overbearing, ruthless in his determination to win an argument, and in the end guilty of tactics like those of "The Man Liszt" and Bombastes Furioso. And criticism, it turns out, is a moral activity: most often it fails from lack of competence; but the competence of a Newman can be defeated by faults of character.

I have thought it worth while to quote here the expanded statement of this point from my article on "The Man Liszt" episode in the Brooklyn *Eagle* years ago. The episode was for me an example of something common in criticism—the critic's failure in his obligation to deal with his material with rigorous justice; and the term "justice," I said, indicated the reason for the failure. It was not mere incompetence—though the justice I was concerned with included competence. It was something else that was not ordinarily thought of in connection with criticism.

> The amount of artistic talent in the world today is enormous; the amount of important art extremely small. The reason is that art is not the product of talent alone. It is an expression through talent—and represents the operation on talent—of personal character. And it is personal deficiencies and difficulties that are responsible for the failure of artists to realize the potentialities of their talent. Now criticism is usually thought of as merely a parasite on Art—which in fact most of it is. But important criticism has many of the characteristics of artistic expression. It involves the operation of sensibility and intellect on its material, the art it deals with, and on its medium, the words in which it formulates itself; and in the end it is a type of literary expression with stylistic and aesthetic characteristics that convey qualities of mind and feeling. In short, it is as much a personal expression as the art it deals with; and like this art it represents the operation of personal character as well as of talent. And while a music critic may fail through a deficiency of talent—that is, through a lack of mere competence in his field, or of mere ability to think straight—even a competent critic may fail through a deficiency of character. He may be diverted from rigorous justice to his material by personal ends; he may, for example, neglect the material and evade important responsibilities in the process of writing belles-lettres [this was a reference to Gilman]; or he may misuse the material to impress his readers as hard-boiled [a reference to Chotzinoff]; and so on. And in the present instance, certainly, it is not a deficiency in competence that causes Newman to pervert the Liszt-d'Agoult correspondence, but a deficiency in character. One accepts his writing for its value and despite its faults; but the faults sometimes deprive it of its value.

B. H. HAGGIN

Mahler

GUSTAV MAHLER: MEMORIES AND LETTERS. By Alma Mahler. Translated by Basil Creighton. The Viking Press. $5.

IF MUSIC is the hardest art to write about, musicians are evidently the hardest artists. To convey the quality and values of symphony or sonata by means of words, and to maintain in doing so a reasonable distance both from reck-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

less impressionism and from the sterile methods of technical analysis or the dismal verbiage and genealogical conjurings of "musicology," require a skill no greater than that needed by the biographer who attempts to relate a musician's career to the elusive art he creates or interprets. If a Chorley, a Shaw, or a Tovey is rare in musical criticism, so, in musical biography, are Sullivan on Beethoven, Turner on Mozart, Toye on Verdi, Lockspeiser on Debussy. Nor are musical autobiography and memoirs in much better status: the exceptions of Berlioz, Wagner, and Rimsky-Korsakov (or recently Bruno Walter) make the general ineptitude more painful; to descend to the average books by opera singers or virtuosi —Melba's, Calvé's, Alda's, or Farrar's embarrassing "Such Sweet Compulsion"—is to suspect that there is little connection between the discipline and taste of music and any other standard of taste whatever. It is well enough to believe that "the more perfect the artist the more completely separate in him will be the man who suffers and the mind which creates," but to separate the musical intelligence from the typical record of conceit and vulgarity which the professional musical life induces—"a most unholy trade" rivaling the theater's, with its spectacles of professional jealousy, dressing-room squabbles, champagne parties, and cockpit careerism—puts a strain on even the most willing sympathizer with the exactions of temperament.

In Mahler the suffering man and the creating mind are hardly separable; neither his career as conductor nor his quality as a composer can be disengaged from the strenuous temper which he imposed on the musical world of his time and by which his achievement in a disintegrating tradition can best be measured. Mme Mahler (later Mme Franz Werfel) has hardly written the book Mahler deserves or an adequate supplement to the rather sketchy essays by Stefan and Walter. The strains and endurances she suffered—an ambitious musical *Backfisch* of Vienna, forced to sacrifice her hopes as a composer to the stormy career and excitable temperament of an aesthetic autocrat—get very much in the way of any clear view of Mahler's mind or his music. Her account covers the last ten years of Mahler's life, from 1902 when, a girl of twenty, she married the composer of forty-one, to his death in 1911. She lived with Mahler during the writing of his last four symphonies and "Das Lied von der Erde," the harried and triumphant years when his conducting of the Philharmonic and the Opera in Vienna gave that city its greatest glories of musical interpretation, and when his journeys to Russia, Paris, and New York followed the established pattern of an uncompromising perfectionism at war with the egotisms, jealousies, and social pressures of the opera and orchestra worlds. But on two counts at least her book has value. It depicts the last great age of virtuosity and heroism in the music life of Europe, the excited artistic atmosphere of Vienna before 1914, when the interpretation of a symphony surpassed political crises in the public interest, and when the artist as culture-hero was not yet lost in the distractions of commercialism and mass production. Out of this scene Mahler's personality emerges with a kind of desperate heroism, imaged in the photographs of the thought-haggard Nietzschean face and cranium that once, in Italy, gave Mann his mask for Aschenbach in "Death in Venice," the artist at the edge of the abyss, strung up between the

OXFORD MUSIC BOOKS

MOZART
HIS CHARACTER, HIS WORK
by Alfred Einstein

". . . the clearest, most vivid and most credible picture of this most 'universal' of musical geniuses."—*New York Times Book Review.* "One of the great 'music books' of the decade."—*New York Herald Tribune Book Review.*
4th printing. Illus. $5.00

MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS
THEIR HISTORY IN WESTERN CULTURE FROM THE STONE AGE TO THE PRESENT
by Karl Geiringer

". . . an excellent reference book describing the historical evolution of every type of musical instrument, from the most ancient to the most modern."—*Cleveland Plain Dealer.*
Profusely Illustrated. $4.00

ESSAYS and LECTURES
by H. C. Colles

Selections from the shorter writings of the late Music Critic of the London *Times,* revealing his deep musicianship, charm and urbane wit. The main headings include "The Opera," "Church Music," "General," and "Some English Musicians." *Musical examples.* $4.50

BEETHOVEN
by Sir Donald Tovey

A human and profound analysis of all aspects of Beethoven's music. " . . . a book of rare and sympathetic insight . . . this book must become a permanent part of all libraries of Beethoveniana."—*Etude.* *Music examples.* $3.00

AND THREE OTHER IMPORTANT VOLUMES BY
Sir Donald Tovey
ESSAYS in MUSICAL ANALYSIS:
Chamber Music
Symphonies, Vol. I
Symphonies, Vol. II
With music examples Each $4.00

At all bookstores

OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS
114 Fifth Avenue New York 11

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

claims of society and the irresistible perils of his idealism. The sheerly irascible, compulsive nature of Mahler came to its highest pitch of exacerbation during this decade of his marriage. On one side clamored the demands of impresarios and performers, of royal favor and patronage, of American social pressure groups, of the clashing egotisms that challenged his own. On the other side was the art he managed to wring out of himself in intervals of a secret ordeal hardly less unnerving —the yearning, strenuously exalted, and visionary emotion that permeates his style, giving it a quality of exhausting tension, cracking nervous struggle, and remote nobility that establishes it so much within its period; so much involved, with all its genuine grandeur and superb lyricism, in its historical and temperamental conditions. (There is a portrait of Mme Mahler, the *Geliebte* of Germanic inspiration, in an art-gown of the period, pose of conscious aesthetic winsomeness, and background of wooden balcony and misty forested mountains, that does much to convey the spirit of Mahler's erotic idealism and the delicate balance it struck between self-conscious exaltation and free harmonic fulfilment.)

Another fact that appears is the necessity of Mahler's autocratic authority in any musical enterprise that aims to rise above the ruck of compromised standards, trustee-ridden politics, and financial patronage that have come, since his day, to rule the musical world. Whatever social and popular assets the mass scale of music production in this century may boast, it has also its enormously increased liabilities of the success standard, with business men, shoddy impresarios, and box-office figures usurping the authority of the conductor and producing in our wealthiest cities (Chicago, for example, with New York and others not far behind it) makeshift slovenliness of presentation and third-rate slackness where once men like Muck and Mahler set an uncompromising standard. Mahler did not live to see the day of radio broadcasts, concert industrialization, and their attendant ignominies; his troubles never included the humiliation of having his programs interrupted by talks by Mr. Cameron or Mr. Kettering; he kept—at the cost of spent health and a premature death—his boards of trustees, ladies' committees, and impertinent socialites at a distance. He gave Europe and America some of the greatest performances they had ever known, and he succeeded in becoming the master of an intensely personal lyric and tragic utterance: last in the great tradition of German symphonists; creator, in the first, fourth, and eighth symphonies, in "Das Lied von der Erde" and the "Kindertotenlieder," of some of the greatest music of this century; the exponent of a musical integrity and dedication which serve today as a warning of what aesthetic honesty faces in an age of increasing careerism and mass standardization. His art, his personality, and his performances stand in danger of becoming legendary, a misfortune for music from which Mme Mahler's intimacies, Bruno Walter's loyal revival of his compositions, and a small number of worthily defiant successors may rescue him for the possible instruction of the men who today control the destiny of the opera house and concert hall, and through them the music which, more than any other art, must contend for its existence against all the forces which professional vanity, profit-making, and public incomprehension have devised.

MORTON DAUWEN ZABEL

A Misguiding History

COMPOSER AND CRITIC: TWO HUNDRED YEARS OF MUSICAL CRITICISM. By Max Graf. W. W. Norton and Company. $3.75.

MR. GRAF has written a history of the "development of musical criticism against a background of the struggles and battles of the seminal ideas of the great epochs of modern history." He has concluded that the modern critic is not functioning correctly: "The structure of an artistic society in which the critic is not the interpreter of the artist to the public, but the spokesman of the public against the artist, is faulty"; and that the best way to discover what is wrong is to turn to history, "clearly to see the position of criticism in the musical life of our time, and its proper function within musical society." He describes that function as "the use of human intelligence, vision, and application, to the end of discovering the lasting values in works of art"; and critics as "the born interpreters and intermediaries between the artists and the public."

Dr. Graf's first and chief failure is that he doesn't understand the function of criticism and consequently is unable to diagnose its ills; and he obviously has no idea when a critic is good or bad, as distinguished from his relation to a cultural background. Dr. Graf is one of many modern critics who, instead of facing the real issues of criticism, question its validity, reject its methods, and deny its values, because they are obsessed by a mythical philosopher's stone—a science of criticism, the results of which are to be impersonal and objective, the critic himself being reduced to a mere integer, a mouthpiece for dicta valid for all times and persons.

The fatal weakness of this position is that it ignores the actual basis of criticism, which is not the dicta, but the critic himself. The critic does not talk to the artist's audience about the artist's work; he talks to his own audience about the artist's work, which is an entirely different thing, and one which has been much misunderstood, not only by artists, but even by critics themselves. The only justification the critic can offer for his activity is, to quote Mr. Auden, that "I do this, whatever its effects, because I cannot help doing it." The only test for the validity of his criticism is his own personal sensitiveness to the art to which he is reacting; and this is a test which he himself cannot make—for he must believe in himself —but which his audience must make. The audience, that is, picks its critic in accordance with its own sensitiveness and response to sensitiveness; and the work of a particular critic can ultimately be valid only for persons who are to a degree more rather than a degree less like him. In the end, the critic writes of his own experience, and communicates its meaning to his audience, which presumably lacks the background, training, or discipline to have the experience by itself, and which has learned by verification of his statements the validity of his experience for itself.

Apart from his dubious critical position, Dr. Graf has written bad history and a bad book. It is a book obviously designed for popular consumption, in the worst sense of that word. Besides consistently writing down to his audience, he refrains from any documentation, any bibliography, and does not even name most of the works of the critics he discusses. There is a profusion of cultural background, most of which

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

LIBRARY
EAST TENNESSEE STATE COLLEGE
JOHNSON CITY, TENNESSEE

is irrelevant, including what Dr. Graf genially condescends to share with us poor benighted Americans of his own background of rich and superior Viennese culture in a stream of anecdote and chit-chat. We should be grateful, instead of unkindly noting that it has no connection with musical criticism or his pretense of historical method.

The history is inaccurate. For example, in the chapter devoted to the Bach-Scheibe dispute, which is incorrectly titled "the first conflict between critic and composer," Dr. Graf suppresses dates, ignores relevant facts, rearranges historical chronology, and throws in unwarranted insinuations of his own, for the sake of an irrelevant moral; and his method in this chapter is that of the remainder of the book, with wrongly cited dates and misquotation in addition.

The allocation of space is highly questionable. The Germanic bias of the book is so strong that in a total of eighteen chapters we hardly budge out of Germany until the fifteenth, entitled Paris, 1830, and even this one is devoted predominantly to Heine, Wagner, and Liszt! Much more space than is warranted is allotted to various composers —Debussy, Bizet (the author of a single article), Wolf, Weber, Smetana—who happened to have been music critics rather casually at some time in their careers. Telemann, who can only doubtfully be considered a critic, receives as much space as Berlioz, who gets half that of Weber; while important critics who had long and influential careers, such as Fetis and d'Ortigue in France, Chorley in England, and Lobe in Germany, are reduced to the merest stereotypes, or dismissed with a sneering anecdote.

Even when he devotes space to a critic, Dr. Graf is unable to describe or evaluate his accomplishments. Schumann, as may be expected, receives a shower of praise, much of it deserved, but there is no mention of his essential fault as a critic—that, as Yorke Bannard well states it, "his criticisms . . . reveal an ardent and enthusiastic nature, but they also show that, whereas he had little difficulty in recognizing good music when he found it, he frequently mistook inferior work for first-rate." Berlioz is treated to an effusion which not only fails to mention any of his writings, either his important journalistic work or his books, but appears to have been written without any reference to them at all. Berlioz, to Dr. Graf, is the arch-romanticist, the great emotionalist, playing on his literary organ with all the stops out. Berlioz could certainly be extravagant; but he had a strong streak of classicism in him, and the most immediately striking aspect of his critical work—when one turns to it from reading about it—is its general sobriety, sanity, and finely chiseled insights. And Dr. Graf relates the history of Wagner criticism with a partisan bias which, although it survives in a few old Wagnerians like Newman, is about as proper and relevant as continuing to fight the Civil War.

The chapter on "modern" criticism passes understanding. Dr. Graf's own admission that it is "in no sense exhaustive" is a rare understatement. He continues:

> That I have dealt with no living American critic and given considerable space to two living English ones may seem illogical. But there are two good reasons for it: first, musical criticism in America reached its classic heights a generation before it did in England; second, the work of

NEW REPUBLIC:

"An excellent political novel and a genuinely philosophical novel . . . All together it is the finest American novel in more years than one would like to have to remember." —*George Mayberry*

NATION:

"For sheer virtuosity, for the sustained drive of its prose, for the speed and evenness of its pacing, for its precision of language, its genius of colloquialism, I doubt indeed whether it can be matched in American fiction."—*Diana Trilling*

by Robert Penn Warren

ALL THE KING'S MEN

$3.00

HARCOURT, BRACE & COMPANY

The highly entertaining history of a revolution that went wrong

ANIMAL FARM

by GEORGE ORWELL

$1.75

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Newman and Shaw is already embalmed in books, that of Olin Downes, Virgil Thomson, Oscar Thompson, and other American contemporaries still awaits that consummation, and the historian must wait too.

Actually, all the Americans he discusses belong either to Shaw's generation or to Newman's. More important, Downes published his first book in 1918, Thompson in 1934, and Thomson in 1939; and even if they had not appeared in books, any important library contains files of newspapers and periodicals. I can therefore only conclude that his stated reasons are not his real ones. But even by his own standards, he is inconsistent: there is no mention of H. T. Parker, who is both important and dead. And Dr. Graf ignores all the important modern English critics—dead, living, "embalmed"—outside of Shaw and Newman. He mentions a number of living Germans, but no Frenchmen later than Debussy. More extraordinary is his omission of Soviet Russian criticism, which offers the one example of critics functioning as he contends they should, as interpreters of the composer to the public, but which he nevertheless ducks with the excuses that it "has, with few exceptions, not been translated into any world language," and that the long concealment of Russian musical life prevents accurate knowledge of "what manner the Soviet Russian music critic has performed his task of spreading musical culture . . . and what degree of spiritual freedom has been permitted to the leaders of artistic taste"; when in fact there have been sufficient quotations in English to give a reasonably accurate idea of what is happening there.

As for what Dr. Graf says in this chapter, his treatment of Philip Hale is typical of the fulsome and "tactful" manner in which he handles the older Americans, among them Krehbiel, Aldrich, Gilman, and especially Huneker. He is obviously familiar with nothing beyond the one published volume of selections from Hale's Boston Symphony program notes, which displays Hale largely as an analyst and contains only small excerpts from his newspaper criticisms. And in the midst of the usual ecstatic list of composers whom Hale discussed masterfully—in "the French manner," we are reminded—we suddenly encounter this remark: "With fine sensitivity, Hale wrote about Brahms . . . Brahms's Fourth Symphony he calls 'a structure in granite.'" But Hale's dislike of Brahms was well known; and what he actually wrote about this symphony was: "The austerity with which the composer has been reproached—in many cases unjustly—is here pronounced. The solidity of the structure may be admired, but the structure itself is granitic and unrelieved."

Dr. Graf has read Shaw, but he has missed completely what was important in Shaw's attitudes toward criticism: that Shaw was too acute to misunderstand the personal nature of criticism, and that he was never more serious and in dead earnest than when he was being most outrageous. And Ernest Newman inspires Dr. Graf to a prolonged rhapsody, which culminates in the fulsomely inaccurate exclamation: "His seriousness is impressive, his grace captivates, his wit amuses, his irony enchants."

Nothing more worthless and more vicious could be offered in the name of authority to the lay public that doesn't know and would like to learn than the unreliable facts and judgments, the distorted mis-learning, in this book.

CHARLES B. FARRELL

The Words and the Measure

LETTERS OF COMPOSERS: AN ANTHOLOGY, 1603-1945. Edited by Gertrude Norman and Miriam Lubell Shrifte. Alfred A. Knopf. $5.

ONE refutation of the theory that all the arts approach the condition of music is the writings of the composers themselves, particularly those composers, like the ones represented in this book, who wrote "the most readable and informative letters." They are essentially non-literary—not unliterary. Indeed, allusions to Shakespeare, Goethe, Heine, or Plato are everywhere; but there is no talent for what Gerard Manley Hopkins calls inscape. For the musician the beginning is not the word. We expect those shrewd craftsman's remarks common among painters like Van Gogh or Masson; yet the explanations of orchestral effects do not illuminate the score itself. In vain Gustav Mahler sought the "liberating word" in which to formulate the last movement of his Second Symphony. Mendelssohn complained "there is so much talk about music, and yet so little is said. For my part, I believe that words do not suffice for such a purpose." Music, he goes on, "fills the soul with a thousand things better than words." If, then, as writing, this correspondence appears fragmentary or blunt, it is none the less an authentic and pertinent comment on modern music and its affiliations with the other arts.

Inarticulate as the composer may be, his letters are often temperamental. One feels, for example, the outgoing disposition of Schubert, the despair of the deafened Beethoven, and the titanism of Wagner, who explains that "a public performance of one of my operas is still an occasion of such boundless emotional turmoil that I have frequently tried to prevent performances when I have felt unequal to this interior conflict." It is Wagner, too, who cherishes his "long-repressed resentment about this Jew-business." His grudge against Meyerbeer ("as necessary to my nature as gall is to blood") feeds itself fat on the little "fright" he gives the bankers and philistines by printing "Das Judentum in der Musik." These temperamental grudges and anguishes have, essentially, nothing to do with Wagner the composer, whose letters are of most interest when he is infatuated with his literary or mythological thesis that in Love, the negation of the will, and the high tragedy of renunciation one finds the significance of "Die Walküre," "Der Fliegende Holländer," "Tannhäuser," or "Lohengrin." Nor is there anything distinctively musical in Wagner's announcement, "I am an artist and nothing but an artist—that is my blessing and my curse. . . .; and so I run hither and thither, poor fool, to find peace." It is as difficult to distinguish the Wagnerian temperament from the Wagnerian score as it is to determine what remains of the verse of Byron without the Byronic legend—an instance of the romantic fallacy, doubtless. Somehow, the temperament of Mozart does not thus obscure his compositions—Mozart who in high animal spirit writes how his concerts "went like oil": "Count Wolfegg and several other passionate admirers of Beecke publicly admitted at a concert the other day that I had wiped the floor with him. . . . I then played another solo, quite in the style of the organ, a fugue in C minor, and then all of a sudden a magnificent sonata in C

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

major, out of my head, and a rondo to finish up with. There was a regular din of applause. Herr Stein was so amazed that he could only make faces and grimaces. As for Herr Demmler, he couldn't stop laughing. He is a quaint fellow, for when he likes anything very much, all he does is to burst into fits of laughter. In my case he even started to curse."

For one thing, Mozart is convinced that "passions, whether violent or not, must never be expressed in such a way as to invite disgust," and music, though the situation be terrible, "must never cease to be MUSIC." Here, in 1781, is one of the principles of academic literature. When Rameau inquires in 1762 why we prefer certain musical intervals to others he is simply posing the question of the laws of taste that occupied literary critics for the whole eighteenth century. At the end of that age Sir Joshua Reynolds was insisting before the Royal Academy that design is fundamental to painting. Rossini a few years later was distressed that in opera, "warblings, wild leaps and jumps, trills, misuse of semitones, notes all tangled up—this is the kind of singing that now holds sway. That is why the measure, the essential part of music, without which melody is unintelligible and harmony becomes disordered, is neglected and violated by singers." More remarkable, just as Coleridge was arriving at his most famous critical opinion that by a magical diffusion of tone the poetic imagination reconciles discords and oppositions, the "romantic" Carl Maria von Weber was writing Naegeli "that the aim of an artistic composition is to deduce the character of the whole from individual thoughts, and that, amid the greatest diversity, still unity, displayed by the first principle or theme, should always shine forth." Thus these letters bear upon the other arts, as in Debussy's claim to present "*realities*—what the idiots call 'impressionism,' a term used as badly as possible, particularly by the art critics, who don't hesitate to wrap up Turner in it." They illustrate the social and economic configurations: the subscriptions of the British nobility to Handel's oratorios; the conservative, religious, "anti-passionate" mood Berlioz senses in England; the disappointment of J. S. Bach when at Leipzig "the ordinary burial fees" were 100 thaler less than he expected.

The closing letters of Howard Hanson, Virgil Thomson, Randall Thompson, Aaron Copland, and others give a strong impression of the vitality of composition in the United States. MacDowell was, of course, the most belligerent on this issue, repudiating Dvorák's "desire to clothe American music in Negro costume," and insisting that American composers be played on programs with the Europeans "to stand or fall" by the comparison. George Antheil, it happens, raises for the American composer in particular (and for the American poet or painter?) the unpleasant but necessary question whether "the boys are primarily stylists," each concerned to fabricate his own unmistakable technique. The letters of this collection, however, emphasize that to compose is to experience, that musical composition cannot be intellectualized. As David Diamond puts it, "the musical art is an instinctive one" and "the intellectual approach to music, no matter how well modified for the layman who wants to know," will produce only windbags who can talk about the whole-tone scale. For the composer, it would appear, there is no liberating word; there is only the unambiguous measure.

WYLIE SYPHER

"Music lovers will relish these glimpses of the human side of a great composer-conductor . . . A wonderful, human account of his career."
—*N. Y. World-Telegram*

"The book is extremely candid, not only about Mahler but also about many other glittering figures here and in Europe . . . an account of a stormy love affair enduring for ten years . . . It is fascinating."—GERALD W. JOHNSON, *N. Y. Herald Tribune*

Ill. $5.00

GUSTAV Mahler
MEMORIES AND LETTERS
by ALMA MAHLER

At all booksellers THE VIKING PRESS

"The names of the contributors alone should make anyone want to own this book."—N.Y. TIMES BOOK REVIEW

THE PARTISAN READER

A TREASURY OF THE BEST CREATIVE AND CRITICAL WORK FROM *PARTISAN REVIEW*

Edited by WILLIAM PHILLIPS and PHILIP RAHV

■ Fiction, Criticism and Verse by SHERWOOD ANDERSON, W. H. AUDEN, E. E. CUMMINGS, JOHN DEWEY, JOHN DOS PASSOS, F. W. DUPEE, T. S. ELIOT, JAMES T. FARRELL, ANDRE GIDE, PAUL GOODMAN, SIDNEY HOOK, CHARLES JACKSON, RANDALL JARRELL, FRANZ KAFKA, LOUIS MacNEICE, MARY McCARTHY, KATHERINE ANNE PORTER, ISAAC ROSENFELD, DELMORE SCHWARTZ, KARL SHAPIRO, IGNAZIO SILONE, STEPHEN SPENDER, GERTRUDE STEIN, DYLAN THOMAS, EDMUND WILSON, RICHARD WRIGHT, and others.

704 pages. Introduction by LIONEL TRILLING
Just published, $3.75 at all bookstores
THE DIAL PRESS, NEW YORK

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Music by Formula

THE SCHILLINGER SYSTEM OF MUSICAL COMPOSITION. Edited by Lyle Dowling and Arnold Shaw. Carl Fischer. $30.

> The Schillinger System is a synthesis of musical theory and the most recent discoveries of modern physics, physiology, and mathematics. . . . In Schillinger we encounter for the first time a comprehensive application of scientific method to all components of the tonal art. . . . The Schillinger System establishes its creator as one of the great musical theorists of all times, for Schillinger achieved a synthesis as rare in cultural history as Leonardo da Vinci's —a synthesis of science and art.

THESE not exactly modest statements are from the introduction to "The Schillinger System of Musical Composition," a posthumous work prepared from manuscript by Lyle Dowling and Arnold Shaw. It is a textbook purporting to lay down principles of composition derived not from the observed practice of composers but from the sciences. As such, it would seem a supremely ambitious, not to say presumptuous, attack upon a profound philosophical problem. It is not surprising, nor would it be a reproach, that such an attempt should fail. But it is regrettable that there should turn out to be so little ammunition for the undertaking in the first place. It is not that the attempt fails: the challenge does not even materialize.

But the outward pretensions are all there. The language is pompous—except for conversational extraneities—and the development of special terms and symbols reaches exasperating proportions. Scientific terminology, puzzling to the layman, may be somewhat less than clear to the scientist:

> The projection of a melody is a mechanical trajectory. Its kinetic components are balance, impetus, and inertia. Resistance produces impetus, leading either toward the *climax,* which is a *pt* (pitch-time) *maximum with respect to the primary axis,* or toward balance. The impetus is caused by resistance, which results from rotation. The geometrical projection of rotation is a circle which extends itself in time projection into a cylindrical or spherical spiral, or ultimately (through time extension) into wave motion (plane projection).

On the same page:

> The leap of a human being over a fourteen-foot rod was the highest achievement in the International Olympics for 1936, and that with the aid of a pole. The mechanical efficiency of a flea is fifty times greater. The leap of a human being over a rod fifty feet high would seem supernatural, while the same kind of a leap by a flea would be far below the standards of flea efficiency—the flea leaps about one hundred times its own size.

Again and again, through the twelve books (on rhythm, scales, melody, variation, harmony, counterpoint, form, style, and orchestration), one comes upon tables of permutations, showing the ways in which a given set of musical elements may be assembled. But the evaluation of the various resultant groupings commonly brings out only what is already well known, causing wonder as to why the list should ever have been compiled. A favorite method of composing is to fit tones—chosen by a formula—into a preselected rhythmic pattern—also chosen by a formula. If the results were invariably as unappetizing as the ones quoted in the book, Schillinger would have few prophets today. But it is not always so: perhaps the secret of the partial success the method has enjoyed lies in the fact that the mechanistic procedures outlined do provide a means of stimulating a sluggish imagination. Once stimulation is accomplished, the imagination takes over, and the formulas go out the window until needed again. Reger used alcohol for the same purpose; Sacchini did it with cats and mistresses.

A reader wishing escape from formulas and jargon might turn to the final book, on orchestration. For here Schillinger is not much interested; he has a fine disdain for the "heterogeneous aggregation of antiquated tools" which compose today's orchestra—preferring, of course, the more "scientific" electronic instruments. But he condescends to treat our collection of relics for the sake of completeness. The errors of fact are appalling. Misinformation, recognizable as such by any intelligent amateur, is supplied on bowing, fingering, harmonics, and the construction and range of wind instruments. We learn, too, how kettledrums got into the orchestra: "It was J. Haydn who introduced them [*Sinfonie mit Paukenschlag* (Symphony with kettledrums)]."

Izaac Newton's
PRINCIPIA
• One of the world's great classics of science and philosophy; long out of stock, available now in the only up-to-date English translation.
716 pages. **$6.50**

CÉZANNE'S COMPOSITION
By ERLE LORAN
• Factual, authoritative. The paintings compared with photographs of the scenes painted. Explanatory text with numerous diagrams.
Fourth Printing
147 illustrations. **$6.50**

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA PRESS
BERKELEY 4, CALIFORNIA

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

No, it is difficult to see much future for the Schillinger System of Musical Composition. Some musicians don't like mathematics, and those who do will have brains enough to be discriminating and will demand content along with the externals.

GEORGE HENRY

MOTION PICTURE

NEVER BEFORE SUCH LUXURIOUS... RIOTOUS... LOVING AND LIVING!

G. C. F. presents

VIVIEN LEIGH • CLAUDE RAINS

In Bernard Shaw's

"CAESAR AND CLEOPATRA"

PRODUCED AND DIRECTED BY Gabriel Pascal

*By Arrangement with DAVID O. SELZNICK

NOW ASTOR B'WAY & 45th ST.

POPULAR PRICES

STAGE PLAYS

THEATRE GUILD'S PRODUCTIONS

THE MUSICAL HIT

CAROUSEL

Music by Richard Rodgers • Book & Lyrics by Oscar Hammerstein 2d • Directed by Rouben Mamoulian • Dances by Agnes de Mille

with John Raitt — Iva Withers, Jean Darling • Eric Mattson • Norma Howard • Jean Casto

AIR-COND. MAJESTIC Theatre 44th St. W. of Broadway. Evgs. 8:30 Mats. Thursday & Saturday at 2:30

THE MUSICAL HIT

OKLAHOMA!

Based on Lynn Riggs' "Green Grow the Lilacs"

Music by Richard Rodgers • Book & Lyrics by Oscar Hammerstein 2d • Directed by Rouben Mamoulian • Dances by Agnes de Mille

Harold Keel • David Burns • Betty Jane Watson • Ruth Weston

AIR-COND. ST. JAMES Theatre 44th St. W. of Broadway. Evgs. 8:30 Mats. Thursday & Saturday at 2:30

"A smash hit of enormous proportions." — *Ward Morehouse, Sun.*

MAX GORDON *presents*

BORN YESTERDAY

The New Comedy Hit by GARSON KANIN

LYCEUM THEA., 45th Street East of B'way. CH. 4-4256

Evenings 8:40. Matinees Wed. & Sat. 2:40. AIR-COND.

"JUBILANT AND JOYFUL."—Brown, Sat. Rev. of Literature

RICH RD RODGERS and OSCAR HAMMERSTEIN 2nd Present

ETHEL MERMAN *in*

"ANNIE GET YOUR GUN"

Music & Lyrics by IRVING BERLIN • Book by HERBERT & DOROTHY FIELDS

with RAY MIDDLETON

Directed by JOSHUA LOGAN

IMPERIAL THEA., 45th St. W. of Bway. Eves. 8:30. Mats. Wed & Sat. 2:30

MOTION PICTURES

Manhattan: ALHAMBRA, COLISEUM, 81st ST., 86th ST., 58th ST. near Lex., HAMILTON, 125th ST., REGENT, RIVERSIDE, 23rd ST.

Bronx: CASTLE HILL, CHESTER, FORDHAM, FRANKLIN, MARBLE HILL, PELHAM, ROYAL

Westchester: MT. VERNON, NEW ROCH., WH. PLAINS, YONKERS

RKO NOW

"UTTERLY BEGUILING TALE."—*PM*

IRENE DUNNE • REX HARRISON • LINDA DARNELL

'ANNA AND THE KING OF SIAM'

Based on MARGARET LANDON'S Biography

— AND —

'TRUTH ABOUT MURDER'

BONITA GRANVILLE • MORGAN CONWAY

Brooklyn: BUSHWICK, DYKER, GREENPOINT, KENMORE, MADISON, ORPHEUM, PROSPECT, REPUBLIC, TILYOU Coney Island

Queens: Keith's FLUSHING, Keith's RICH. HILL, STRAND Far Rockaway

Manhattan: COLONIAL B'way & 62 St.

"Romantic Comedy Drama"—*N. Y. Times*

MYRNA LOY

DON AMECHE

'SO GOES MY LOVE'

Based on HIRAM PERCY MAXIM'S "A Genius in the Family"

— AND —

'SHE WROTE THE BOOK'

JOAN DAVIS • JACK OAKIE

BOB HOPE and Joan Caulfield IN "MONSIEUR BEAUCAIRE"

A PARAMOUNT PICTURE

— IN PERSON —

CHARLIE SPIVAK AND HIS ORCHESTRA

— Plus —

BOB EVANS

— Plus —

JOHN and RENE ARNAUT

Extra Added Attraction

PEGGY LEE

NOW PARAMOUNT TIMES SQUARE

NOW

The THEATRE GUILD presents

LAURENCE OLIVIER

in William Shakespeare's

"HENRY V"

TECHNICOLOR • Released Thru United Artists

PRICES: Eves. (at 8:30) $2.40, $1.80 Mats. daily (at 2:30) $1.80, $1.20

ALL SEATS RESERVED

NOW! GOLDEN THEATRE 252 West 45th St.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Records

B. H. HAGGIN

EARLY in August an engineer who was in a position to know told me that with one exception the first post-war radio-phonographs—like the first post-war automobiles—would be somewhat modified versions of the last pre-war models, using no new principles such as he expected would be used in the machines of a year or two from now. By new principles he did not mean film or wire: the machines would still be designed for reproduction of the present type of record, but would incorporate one or another of the new pickups that have been invented and developed recently. And the one exception he referred to among the first post-war machines was the Zenith with the new Cobra pickup. He had been able to test this pickup, and had found it excellent; but his information was that the Zenith machines were not yet on the market; and so meanwhile I began to listen to what was available.

The new Magnavoxes turned out to be the pre-war machines modified to suit the tastes of the mass-public, which I discussed in this column several years ago. Most people, I said, would not tolerate needle-scratch; and to get rid of it they cut down the range of the machine, and were willing to sacrifice the sounds of high vibration-frequencies that give recorded sound its brilliance and fidelity to timbre. If they wanted the brilliance and "high-fidelity" they would have to take the needle-scratch with it; and they would find after a while that it had become dissociated from the music and they no longer noticed it as they listened. But many people did not like brilliance and high-fidelity, and wanted the "mellow" tone in which the highs were reduced and heavily outweighed by the bass. Now certainly a person who wants that is entitled to have it; but so is the person who wants the brilliance and high-fidelity. And it is possible to give both what they want: to produce a machine which will reproduce the full range of what is recorded, and to provide controls with which the highs can be cut down while the bass is emphasized. But Magnavox has decided against such flexibility, and has designed its machines to produce a sound in which, with the treble-control set at maximum, the highs are severely limited in range and reduced in intensity below the point of proper balance with the bass. This is true of both the 9-tube machine ($225 to $273 according to cabinet) and the 13-tube ($388 to $410)—the sound from the larger one being only more powerful and solid. There are good reasons against record-changers (the inferior reproduction by inferior pickups; the danger of the jewel-stylus being chipped as it falls onto the record, and the jagged surface damaging the grooves as it travels through them; the fact that as the records pile up the angle of the stylus changes, with increasing surface-chatter, distortion, and wear on the grooves); but most people want record-changers, and so the Magnavoxes come only with changers. I advise replacing the jewel-stylus after 1,000 record-sides; Steinway and Sons, where I heard the machines, thought that the charge for this would be somewhere around $3.

The large E. C. A. (Electronic Corporation of America) machines were not yet ready; and I was able to hear only the 7-tube chairside model No. 121 (approximately $150) and the 5-tube table model No. 106 ($86.40). Both have the flexibility I advocate: a single tone-control either cuts down highs until the sound is muffled or brings them in until the treble is bright and clear and well-balanced with the bass. In the table model the treble was a little harsh in both machines; also, the chassis is A. C.–D. C., but the record-changers have A. C. motors, so that the radio can be used on D. C. current without a converter, but the phonograph cannot. The changers use replaceable needles and I advise nothing more permanent than Victor chromium needles—one for each series of record-sides.

It was not until after the preceding report had been written that I heard the Zenith machines. The new Cobra pickup is part of a new record-changer that changes records in about three seconds; and the pickup is so constructed as to meet every one of the objections to record-changers that I mentioned earlier. It produces tone of beautiful quality; its lightness (2/3 of an ounce, according to Zenith), its flexibility ("vertical compliance"), the offsetting curvature of the arm that reduces tracking-error and its side-pressures—all these result in the sound being remarkably free of the usual noise; there is none of the usual chatter and distortion as the records pile up; and there are guards which make it impossible for the pickup—if it falls or is pressed onto the record or is pushed across it—to be damaged or do damage.

Listening to the 9-tube (9H) models ($209.55 to $213.65 according to cabinet) one hears a limitation of treble-range, presumably by the 10-inch speaker; but what treble there is is sufficiently strong for the sound to be bright and well-balanced when the tone-controls are set properly (more about that in a moment). Not only is the sound from the 12-tube (12H) models ($297 to $329.40) more powerful, but the larger baffle-area of the larger cabinets makes it more spacious, and the 14-inch speaker gives it additional richness by extending the treble-range to at least 7,000 cycles (judging by the reproduction of high-pitched percussion instruments). How much more the pickup is capable of with a wider-range speaker-system I don't know but hope to find out; as for the 7,000 cycles, it is a little limited for ears accustomed to 9,000, but most people will find it ample.

A word now about the setting of the tone-controls. These, on both machines, are not the usual knobs but six push-buttons: three for treble, marked "treble," "voice," and "normal"; and three for bass, marked "alto," "bass," and "low bass." Each attenuates, and in effect cuts out, a section of treble or bass when pushed down, and brings it back in when lifted up; and with both machines the proper balance of treble and bass, for my ears, is achieved when all three treble controls and "bass" are up, and "alto" and "low bass" are down.

And finally, Zenith claims that the pickup's lightness, flexibility, and low tracking-error reduce wear on the permanent metal-alloy stylus so much that it can be used for 6,000 record-sides. Since the tiny cartridge with the stylus can be removed and inserted more easily than the eraser of a pencil and costs only $2.50, the thing to do is to buy a spare and insert it to check the sound from the working cartridge after every hundred or two hundred sides.

I would say that right now these two Zenith machines are the ones to acquire—certainly in preference to other machines of the same price; certainly in preference to the Magnavoxes; and even, I suspect, in preference to most

SUPREME RADIO SERVICE

42 South Ocean Ave., Patchogue, Long Island

Offers the following records, recommended by Haggin, at list, plus postage:

The Abduction from The Seraglio (Mozart), Beecham, Vic. 11-9191 ..... $1.05

Die Freischutz Overture (Von Weber), Toscanini, Vic. 11-9172 ..... $1.05

Don Giovanni Batti, Batti, O Bel Masetto (Mozart), Steber, Vic. 11-9115 ..... $1.05

Fidelio, Act I Abscheulicher, Wo Eilst Du Hin (Beethoven), Toscanini & Bampton, Vic. 11-9110 ..... $1.05

Rossini Overtures, Toscanini, DV2 in unbreakable vinylite, 4 records $6.85

DM1037 in shellac $4.85

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

machines of much higher price. If any of these are better for their $1,000 it may be possible to make the Venus 12H equal or sufficiently approximate them by spending a couple of hundred dollars on a wider-range speaker-system and a separate cabinet for the speakers; and even a separate cabinet for the present speaker should produce an astonishing improvement in the sound. That is an improvement one can achieve with any machine; and I will give the specifications of the cabinet in a later article.

Letters to the Editors

Entschuldigen Sie

Dear Sirs: I know the readers of your distinguished magazine prefer information from "on the spot." They also believe that reports which quote sentences in the local language are more authentic. Nevertheless, I have to protest against some errors in Mr. Del Vayo's excellent article Intermezzo in Berlin (August 31). My own followers have sufficiently spoiled the German language. No need to overdo them by writing *"Erinneren Sie sich das Kapp Putsch" instead of "Erinnern Sie sich des Kapp Putsches,"* or *"Fassanenstrasse,"* which is meant to be Pheasant Street and not the street of barrel ancestors.

My friend O. G. V. would not have tolerated such distortions, but what can I expect from Bolsheviks whom I forgot to extirpate.

HEIL! THE GHOST OF ADOLF HITLER

September 10

Wilsonian Observation

Dear Sirs: Woodrow Wilson in his Shadow Lawn speech of September 30, 1916, before the Young Men's Democratic Clubs spoke as follows concerning Republicans of progressive viewpoints: "They are engaged in the interesting enterprise of trying to capture a party which is fortified against them and refusing to enter a party which is already captured by those who believe in their principles. The intellectual processes by which they arrive at their conclusions are entirely obscured to my intelligence."

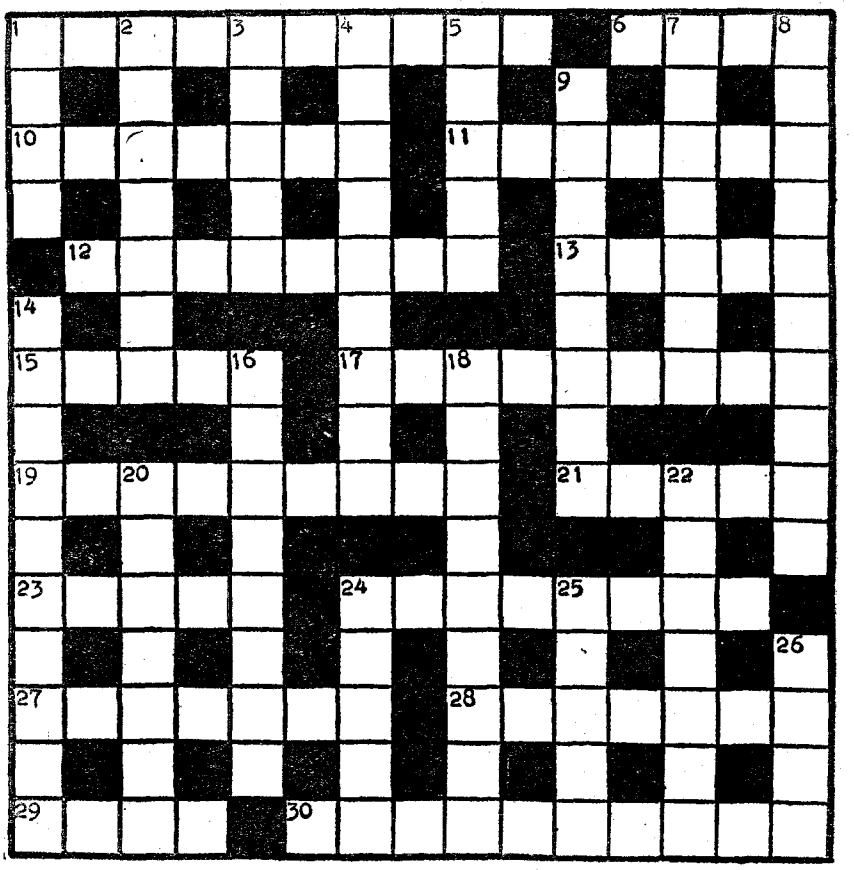
I send you this quotation because it ties in with what Henry A. Wallace says of the dilemma of progressive Republicans in his article How to Elect a Progressive Congress (*The Nation*, August 31).

RICHARD PURDY

New York, September 15

Crossword Puzzle No. 179

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

1 Sort of humor a la Carte
6 Unvarnished—yet often shiny on top
10 The sparkplug superseded it
11 Whale, or perhaps a dolphin
12 Fetch out the horses?
13 Not the language of the poet
15 They entertain us, with or without reward
17 Late arrivals
19 Under shelling their advance is slow
21 Trunk with concealed roots
23 Sort of lieutenant in the medical service
24 Irish for "silly ass"
27 One of the hospital staff
28 Plenty of room in these overcoats
29 Acrobatic seal
30 Shines in Mars, and is a feature of low-lying ground

DOWN

1 Chinless Wonder of the Funnies
2 Marvelous stories
3 The chosen
4 Instruments that might form part of a skeleton band
5 Bandy words
7 It is father's turn to give proof
8 No tidiness (anag.)
9 Very little light is to be had on this in war time (4 and 4)
14 A talk with Lancelot's little lady shows where the lady kept her keys
16 Shock troops
18 Simpletons who are unconscious of being simpletons
20 Reads aloud
22 Melodic embellishment
24 Story of people in Sing-Sing
25 Branch of the Ganges
26 Saps in snakes' clothing

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 178

ACROSS:—1 POPPIES; 5 MAGNATE; 9 AMAIN; 10 OUTFITTER; 11 CATERWAUL; 12 AUDIT; 13 DICTATE; 15 DUKEDOM; 17 INSIPID; 19 SAN REMO; 21 PATHE; 23 RELIEF MAP; 25 CASSANDRA; 26 REEDS; 27 SMARTED; 28 THRUSTS.

DOWN:—1 PEASCOD; 2 PRACTICES; 3 INNER; 4 STORAGE; 5 MOTTLED; 6 GRIMALKIN; 7 ACTED; 8 ERRATUM; 14 APPLE TART; 16 DREAMLESS; 17 IMPACTS; 18 DERIDED; 19 SALTANT; 20 OPPOSES; 22 TOSCA; 24 ERROR.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

RESORTS

43 MILES from N. Y.
RO-ZEE DUDE RANCH
OPEN ALL YEAR
Highland Mills 4451
Mother's cooking served in hotel manner. Informal dress, homelike atmosphere.

RESERVE NOW FOR HOLIDAYS
RATES WEEKLY, $35 up WEEK-ENDS, $20-22
CENTRAL VALLEY, N. Y.
N. Y. C. Phone: LO 5-3715 • CH 4-5487

TOBACCO

CIGARETTES
Popular brands, $1.40 per carton postpaid. Minimum order, 3 cartons.
CIGARS
Natural Bloom Dandies; bx. of 50 ..... $6.00
Ingersoll, Havana Blend; bx. of 50 ..... $4.49
PIPES
Medico, $1.00 • Also Yello Bole, Kaywoodie, Weber, Milano, etc.
Our policy—everything postpaid; satisfaction or full refund; amazingly fast delivery service.
Ask for complete price literature or send your check or money order today to:
ACE MAIL ORDER COMPANY
EAST ORANGE 1, N. J.

HELP WANTED

UNIQUE SCHOLASTIC OPPORTUNITY
PROMINENT educational project affiliated with major university offers minimum of 14 months full-time work in Chicago at excellent salary on stimulating, broadening research job under direct supervision of well-known scholar, to several qualified persons. Must be alert, analytical, well-read, have some graduate background, willing to work intensively. Write for interview giving full particulars.
Box 1646, c/o The Nation.

CASEWORKERS. Three, and one Supervising Caseworker, professionally trained, for family casework agency. Salary range $2100-$3000. Write Director, Jewish Social Service Bureau, 127 N. W. Second Street, Miami, Fla.

SITUATIONS WANTED

SOUTHERN COLORED DOMESTIC and hotel workers desire jobs. Write for list today (stamps). QUALITY EMPLOYMENT ASSN., 214 East Clay Street, Richmond 19, Va.

ROOMS WANTED

UNITARIAN MINISTER working in New York, needs room near Columbia University. Box 1648, c/o The Nation.

HANDWRITING ANALYSIS

SCIENTIFIC HANDWRITING analysis. Alfred Kanfer, 62 Leroy St., N. Y. C. Tel. WA. 5-0956. Cooperating with doctors, psychologists, schools, firms, industries. Lessons. By appointment, evenings. Marital, educational, vocational psychological problems. Fee $3.00.

FARMS AND ACREAGE

CENTRAL hallway colonial; 8 rooms; electric and running water; view; ski run; small creek; orchard, asphalt road; privacy; 16 miles from Tanglewood Festival; splendid barn with 30 stanchions and drinking cups. 100 acres. $7,000. Berkshire Farm Agency, East Chatham, N. Y.

SCHOOLS

LAKEWOOD
MODERN SCHOOL
A residential school for boys and girls from 7 to 12 years of age. Small group. Personal supervision.
Write:
JAMES and NELLIE DICK
115 Carey Street • Lakewood, N. J.
Phone: Lakewood 6-1007

LECTURE SERIES

BY ELI SIEGEL. **Aesthetic Analysis Doesn't Mind Being Philosophic**—Sept 19, and **Aesthetic Analysis Sees Dreams This Way**—Sept. 26. Auspices of: COMMITTEE FOR AESTHETIC ANALYSIS. STEINWAY HALL, 113 W. 57th St., N. Y. C. Room 718—8:30 P.M. Admission $1.00 (incl. tax) each lecture.

INSTRUCTION

SONIA GORDON BROWN, sculptress, will take three or four students in her private studio. Communicate mornings, PLaza 8-2665.

REAL ESTATE FOR SALE

Jackson Avenue, Jersey City. 1) Large Corner, 102x82, Fine Future. 6 Stores & 12 Flats. $8,568 (low) Rents. Price $49,000. 2) A smaller corner, 5 Stores and 4 Flats. $5,668 Rents (low). $36,000. 3) 4 Stores and 8 Flats, 50x90, a real investment. Rents (very low) $5,280. Price $34,000. Owner, Room 820, No. 9 East 46th Street, New York 17. PLaza 3-7510.

LANGUAGES

LINGUAPHONE MAKES LANGUAGES EASY. At home learn to speak Spanish, French, German, Russian or any of 27 languages by quick, easy Linguaphone Conversational Method. You learn by listening. Save time, work, money. Send for FREE book. **Linguaphone Institute**, 81 RCA Bldg., New York 20, N. Y.

ALL LANGUAGES. Phonograph Courses. Linguaphone, other makes. Sold, bought, rented. A. Alin, 475 5th Avenue, New York 17. MU. 3-1093.

PUBLICATIONS

"HUMAN SIDE OF LIFE"—Streamlined Thinking, in Commentary & Poetry, by Radio's Arthur Knight. $1 brings you this unique new seller; 44 pp., paper, sent POSTPAID, FROM: The Bassett School, 350 East 17th St., New York 3, N. Y.

CONTROVERSY Magazine publishes ALL articles and letters submitted. Write CONTROVERSY Magazine, 516 N. St. Clair St., Pittsburgh, Pa.

MAGAZINE SUBSCRIPTIONS

SUBSCRIBE FOR PERIODICALS simply by asking me for them; any number in one order. Pay after I bill you at publishers' lowest prices. Catalog NA, Free. John Crehore, Walpole, N. H.

MONEY-SAVING MAGAZINE COMBINATIONS

For Your Convenience

The NATION

☐ *with* Harper's Magazine . $7.50 You Save $2.50
☐ *with* Consumers Union . $8.00 You Save $1.50
☐ *with* Harper's Magazine and Consumers Union . $10.00 You Save $3.50
☐ *with* Free World . . . . $8.50 You Save $1.50

All club combinations listed are for one year, and may be mailed to different individuals and addresses.

THE NATION *by itself:*

☐ One Year $6 ☐ Two Years $10 ☐ Three Years $14
☐ Servicemen's Rate $4 a Year
Canadian and Foreign Postage $1 a year extra

THE NATION
20 Vesey Street, New York 7, N. Y.
I want to subscribe to *The Nation,* or the following *Nation* magazine combinations as listed below:

☐ Remittance enclosed. ☐ Bill me.
NAME
STREET
CITY ZONE STATE
9-21-46

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED